SPECIAL WAR ISSUE by the Editors

NEW MASSES

7584

GUIDE TO THE ★ SOVIET-NAZI WAR

How It Happened

The Red Army: Manpower and Morale

Angles for Americans

Background of Soviet Foreign Policy

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY JULY 1, 1941

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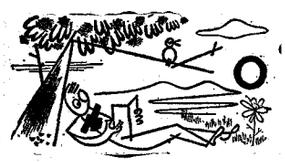
Between Ourselves

A FATEFUL weekend for the world . . . and for the editors of NM. Hitler has as little respect for other peoples' deadlines as he has for their territorial integrity. The Goebbels broadcast and the wanton attack on the Soviet Union were made after most of this week's issue had been set in type. Tuesday morning is press time. Anxious to give our readers a last-minute survey and analysis of the Soviet-Nazi war, we composed what is virtually an entire new issue. Only twenty-four hours to do it in, but a pleasure. Never did writing come easier. You get a special kick writing when every word is, in effect, a shovelful of earth over the



grave which Hitler and his crowd dug for themselves last weekend.

We do regret, however, that it became necessary, in view of the scope of the guide which we present this week, to omit the lengthy and brilliant article by R. Palme Dutt announced for this date. We shall hear again from Mr. Dutt at an early date. Also: for succeeding issues we have lined up a number of articles by leading authorities dealing with various phases of the international scene. We don't intend to miss a single opportunity to chronicle the collapse of Nazism in Germany.

News of the war reached over a hundred guests at the NM weekend in Camp Colebrook. Early Sunday morning the airways were alive with the news. The talk on "Books and Authors" by Samuel Sillen scheduled for that morning was indefinitely postponed under the circumstances, and Mr. Sillen spoke instead on the conflict between the Nazis and the Soviets. His impromptu analysis was well received, except for a few skeptics who felt that a talk so fluent must have been prepared in advance on the basis of an inside tip. Joy Davidman spoke wittily on "What Makes Hollywood Tick." A company from the American Youth Theater won rounds of applause from an enthusiastic audience. It was a gay weekend. With the sun scorching the city streets in 94 degrees weather, Camp Colebrook was an excellent place to relax. Keep watching for announcements of other NM summer affairs.

In an early issue NM will begin the publication of a series of articles on the life of the Negro in America. This series will be under the editorial direction of Herbert Aptheker. It will begin with a discussion of "Race and the Negro" by Professor Franz Boas. Other writers in the series include James W. Ford, Eugene C. Holmes, Angelo Herndon, Samuel Putnam, Elizabeth Lawson, Herbert Aptheker, Ben Davis, Jr., and James S. Allen. These articles will present succinct accounts of: the Negro in recent political struggles, the Negro professional, industrial, and agricultural worker, his position as regards health, housing, education, his legal status, artistic contributions, role in Latin-America, the validity and importance of the concept of a Negro nation, and so on.

Alvah Bessie's paper at the recent Congress in Defense of Culture aroused such enthusiasm in the audience that when an auditor suggested that it be printed in pamphlet form the idea met with considerable approval. At the general session at which the paper was read, over $100 was collected in less than five minutes for the purpose of publishing Mr. Bessie's and three other papers. Mr. Bessie's talk, entitled "We Have Not Forgotten," will shortly be issued by the League of American Writers in an edition of 10,000 copies. APM is taking several thousand copies and mass distribution is assured. The paper is a moving statement linking the issues of the Spanish struggle with the issues paramount today.

Barbara Giles is attending the national convention of the American Newspaper Guild at Detroit this week. Her report of the convention will appear in an early issue.

The exhibition of William Gropper's work at the American Contemporary Gallery in Hollywood was a tremendous success. That doesn't surprise us. We'd walk a mile—we'd walk ten miles—for a Gropper. Who wouldn't?

And we are grateful to Clevelander for gathering $115 for NM's fund drive. The money will come in mighty handy this week because of the extra printing cost involved in almost completely revamping the current issue.

Who's Who

ADAM LAPIN is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Troy Garrison is a young Midwestern poet. . . . Millicent Lang is a graduate student specializing in contemporary literature. . . . Arthur Fowler is a graduate student in history. . . . Lynd Ward is the author of several novels in woodcuts, including "Wild Pilgrimage" and "Madman's Drum."

Flashbacks

THIS week of anniversaries includes a day dedicated to Simon Bolivar, the George Washington of South America, who was born July 2, 1783. On July first every year American steel workers commemorate the mas- sacre at Homestead, [illegible] 39: Carnegie Steel Co. [illegible] in Pinkerton secret ser[illegible]gent to do a big st[illegible]ikebreaki[illegible] job. A dozen men dr[illegible]ped [illegible] each sid an armed battle, and, after five [illegible] captivity in the steel mill, the kertons were driven out of town. As American workers prepare to ebrate Mother Bloor's seventy-n anniversary on July 8, they may with pride that the people's m ment has a way of attracting most vigorous women to it. Clara kin, a Communist member of Reichstag, who lived to be seve six, was born July 6, 1857. . . . . lest we forget, July 4, 1776, has tained some fame as the day which certain American said, "Wl ever any form of government comes destructive of these ends [liberty and the pursuit of happin it is the right of the people to a or abolish it and to institute a government, laying its founda on such principles, and organiz its powers in such form, as to t shall seem most likely to effect t safety and happiness."

THIS WEEK

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THE SOVIET-NAZI WAR

I. HOW IT HAPPENED

Background of the invasion. Calculations as to the imperialist powers. The USSR's strategic positions. The cause of the working peoples of the world.

THE mortal issue is joined. A conflict has begun of titanic military and political proportions, a conflict which climaxes and overshadows the successive crises since the first world war, a conflict which will be looked back upon as the great turning point of the twentieth century. In all the far corners of five continents, on the wide expanses of the seven seas the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions of men and women, the consciousness of all progressive humanity is riveted on the western borders of the Soviet republics. The armed forces of German imperialism, representing all that is twisted, and brutal, medieval and obscurantist, sinister and reactionary and evil in a world system which is writhing on the eve of its doom—has attacked the villages and homes, the fertile fields and ingenious workshops of the new civilization.

For all those who with Lincoln Steffens recognized the future and saw it work, and even for those who have had misgivings and doubts from time to time, there will be nothing but a hot, passionate partisanship in this struggle. They had built up their new life at such hardships, these Soviet people. The sacrifice of mothers and fathers had prepared a new and better world for their children, and the new generation had grown up proud of their powerful, industrialized, healthy, flourishing community of free and equal peoples. Snubbed by the better classes, snarled and sneered at in the salons of the rest of the world, these brave courageous men and women pioneered along the frontiers of human history. And now, at the prime of their success, a murderous assault calls forth their life blood, the defense of their heritage. But it is not their heritage alone that the Soviet peoples are defending. It is not only their soil; it is their revolutionary tradition, their future—their future which is also our future, the future of all of tortured Europe, the future of Asia, and of the whole world.

And our hearts go out to the great working lass of Germany, the Germany that is still ere, the steadfast working men of culture l high skill, those who have endured the rible trial, the nightmare of murder and in these past eight years. The German es, on whose backs a handful of thugs to the conquest of all Europe, that same handful which gambles the last gamble and lies the last lie—they also, the German folk, shall gain the victory which will not be merely a Soviet victory, but victory for all of humankind.

IN THE FACE of this struggle and its implications, every serious American must necessarily reexamine his and her position, must consider to what extent basic analyses of the war have been confirmed, and in what ways new factors may demand new slogans, new emphases, and orientations. *This is the obligation of scientific people: when life itself has changed not to lag behind life itself, but to grasp its meaning for the purpose of understanding history and for the purpose of making history.* On every side, the ruling classes in every country are engaged in this process: our opponents have their hands full trying to explain away all the lies and myths of their own manufacture, especially that greatest lie of them all, the despicable insult that fascism and Communism are the same thing and have been working hand in hand. Our opponents are trying desperately to retain confidence among millions of people who are watching the arena of world events with a detailed, passionate absorption as never before. The job of everybody who stands for the defense and flowering of American democracy, who stands for civil liberties, who stands against anti-Semitism and for the unity of the Negro and white, the job of citizens in the factory or the office or the laboratory who want a decent standard of living, and a peace among peoples at last—it is our common job to see the situation with ruthless clarity, to act upon it, to further the unity of the people at the expense of the confusion and disunity of the oppressors. It is much later than we think but it is never too late to think.

A. Blaskko

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What has happened is this: Hitler, representing a major contender for world empire, is now making a tremendous and desperate effort to evade the problems which he himself created, to extricate himself from the quicksands, to come in out of waters that are beyond his depth. He is trying to retain his hold on the German people, to disorientate his imperialist enemies, and gain advantage over them by a gigantic physical maneuver at the expense of the Soviet Union. And the imperialist groups in Britain and the United States are feverishly debating what and how they can gain from this development for themselves. They are trying to figure out whether to press Hitler and how far, and they are torn between considerations of immediate, tactical interest and considerations of long-term class interest. Above all, they are fearful lest their own peoples grasp the true character of their war aims, fearful that the emergence of the armed might of the first workers' republic will attract to itself all the advanced, progressive sections of western Europe and the western hemisphere and bring about, not only Hitler's defeat but a people's peace throughout the world.

Just as there must have been powerful differences of opinion within the German ruling class, expressed by the not-so-fantastic flight of Rudolph Hess, so there are powerful differences of opinion in the high councils of Britain and the United States on the least risky course of action. The world struggle for empire has not changed its character: so long as the peoples have not yet taken their own destinies into their hands, the imperialist war which began in 1931 continues and deepens and widens. But what has happened now is that the anti-Soviet aspects of that war, always hidden just below the surface, have now come to the surface. It could not have been otherwise in an era when two social systems exist side by side, that in the struggles of the capitalist world different groups, at

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different times, should endeavor to evade their own problems at the expense of the system of socialism.

Hitler rose to power and was weaned from the beginning by the British Tories, who were driven by the fear of socialism and its influence in central Europe, in Britain itself and in the ill-gotten empire. Hitler was able to blackmail his imperialist friends and enemies by claiming to represent the bulwark against socialism; and the greatest rage in the capitalist world after the Soviet-German pact was that Hitler had escaped their control, had stepped forth powerful enough to command the military and economic domination of all of Europe. The war in the last two years has been a war to dispute German imperialism's claims to empire and divide the five-sixths of the world in favor of one side as against the other. But integral with these aims was the aim of crushing the colonial peoples, of hamstringing the democratic movements in Britain and the United States as had been done in France, to create such a military and strategic situation as would compel Germany to reconsider the pact of August 1939, to reconsider, and embark on a war against the Soviet Union.

The anti-Soviet war has a history: it began almost immediately after the defeat of the intervention in 1918-21; it continued in subtle and concealed forms; it consisted of blockades, of slanderous campaigns inspired by the Vatican; it consisted of espionage within the Soviet nation, carried on by British and again by French and by German and Japanese agents; it consisted of refusing to recognize the USSR for sixteen years; it consisted of trying to frustrate the Soviet Union's initiative for collective security; it consisted of two large scale military assaults on the Far Eastern frontier in the summers of 1938 and 1939. And in the winter of 1940, let us never forget, the organized governments and all their miserable following in France, Britain, and the United States, employing the embittered reactionaries of Finland, made a cataclysmic effort to turn the war against the USSR and by scarcely concealed nudges and gestures tried to persuade Germany to take the lead in that campaign.

SO IT is not a new war which the USSR faces: it is the climax and culmination of a generation of hostility on the part of every ruling class in the world. Hitler is now trying to do what others before him failed to do. He is trying to snatch the wonderful Soviet harvest, the pride of the collective farms. He is trying to gain access to the Caucasus and his calculations are the same which animated all the other efforts before this one: namely to open up the one-sixth of the world to capitalist exploitation, to use a base in the rich Soviet land in order to humble and defeat his imperialist rivals. The Soviet people are not surprised: for this, every schoolboy has been preparing for over twenty years, and they all have well learned the lesson that Stalin advised in his famous letter to Ivanov. By its whole policy, the USSR has sought to thwart this development, to gain peace for itself by helping the peoples of the world to maintain their own peace. By its policies, the USSR has sought and for twenty-four years succeeded in thwarting, postponing, heading off and frustrating the attack which has now unfolded. Every day that was gained was a victory. Every day that the Soviet Union maintained the peace new thousands of people the world over came to a fundamental understanding of the crisis that is wracking the capitalist system. Every day that was gained strengthened the political, the military and economic, the moral preparedness of the scores of nations in the socialist commonwealth of nations. Every day that was gained subtracted more than a day from the length and hardships of the inevitable conflict.

NOW THE MORTAL ISSUE is joined. Wars are catalysts, which speed up the processes of history, wherein profound transformations mature and emerge. A war of this kind fought out on one side by men and women who have conclusively demonstrated their command of nature and their ability to control society in the interests of humanity rather than profit, must necessarily be a new kind of war, holding forth surprises of every kind. The thin gruel of Soviet weakness, which every stupid and sinister force has been trying to feed the public for a decade will now be thrown up, vomited into the ashcan of history. The war will have a dynamic of its own, overshadowing and after a time transforming the imperialist crisis from which it arose. It was with a prophetic insight that R. Palme Dutt once described the world crisis as a "conflict, which finds its immediate expression in the present war, but which is already more and more overshadowing, clearly laying bare its final decisive character as the struggle of a dying capitalist world and of the new socialist order for the future of the world."

It cannot be an easy struggle, and innocent men in the length and depth of all fronts will be sacrificed. It is a struggle which the USSR will not carry on single-handed for unquestionably it will seek out and welcome the widest cooperation of all forces and all governments willing to join faithfully for common and immediate goals. This is therefor a struggle which challenges all those who have so vigorously protested their opposition to fascism, and have so generously proffered moral and material support to all forces directly and indirectly fighting against fascism. For all those who have long championed friendship with the Soviet Union as a national interest of the American people, the new situation creates the obvious possibility of uniting every force which recognizes, no matter how belatedly, the weight and influence of the Soviet Union in the world today and the world of tomorrow. The friends that will endure, that will stick by to the end of this struggle will be the peoples of the colonial world of China and India, the people of Spain who remember how the Soviet Union risked war to help them, the peoples of France and Czechoslovakia who know today what horrors would have been spared them if the mutual assistance agreements with the USSR had been honored. It will be the men and women of Britain, among whom the People's Convention has for three-quarters of a year carried on such a brave fight for friendship with the USSR. It will be the oppressed, those who suffer discrimination because of religion and color—all these multi-millions will stand firm and persevere through reverses and celebrate the ultimate victory of Soviet arms. For the people of the USSR are not fighting for oil, or wheat, or tin, or copper, or territory. They are not fighting to pull any one's chestnuts out of the fire. They are fighting to put out the fire itself.

Hitler's dilemma is transparent. Though he stands on the bleached skulls of all Europe, at the peak of his military might, it is a sign of his profound weakness and desperation that he has chosen to attack the USSR. For he has now taken the German people to a war on two fronts, the road to their disaster. Back in the spring of 1939, according to the documents of the French Yellow Book, Hitler consulted with his generals Keitel and Brauchitsch as to whether Germany could win a war against the west. "Both replied that much depended on whether Russia remained neutral or not." If Russia remained neutral, General Keitel thought that Germany could win, and General Brauchitsch said "probably." Both declared, according to the French Yellow Book, that if Germany had to fight against Russia she would not have much chance of winning. And then the French ambassador in Berlin went on to say, "It is believed that he will risk war if he does not have to fight Russia, but that if on the contrary, he knows he will have to fight Russia as well he will give way rather than expose his country, his party and himself to ruin and defeat." That was in June 1939; Hitler calculates that things have changed, and yet it must be obvious that Hitler is now exposing "his country, his party, and himself to ruin and defeat," a prospect which must inevitably cause deep upheavals within Germany.

HITLER is gambling on a relatively brief struggle in which he expects to gain the Black Sea shores to the Caucasus. That is his maximum objective, and he believes by controlling this region he will have the resources to carry on a long struggle with Britain and the United States. On the other hand, by getting to the gateways of the British empire, Hitler expects unquestionably that the appeasement crowd in Britain will exercise the influence they still have in high places throughout British life, that Britain will be torn away from the developing alliance with the United States, and that Britain and Germany will then develop cooperation at the expense of Asia and at the expense of the economic and strategic positions of the Americas. In a relatively brief struggle, ther

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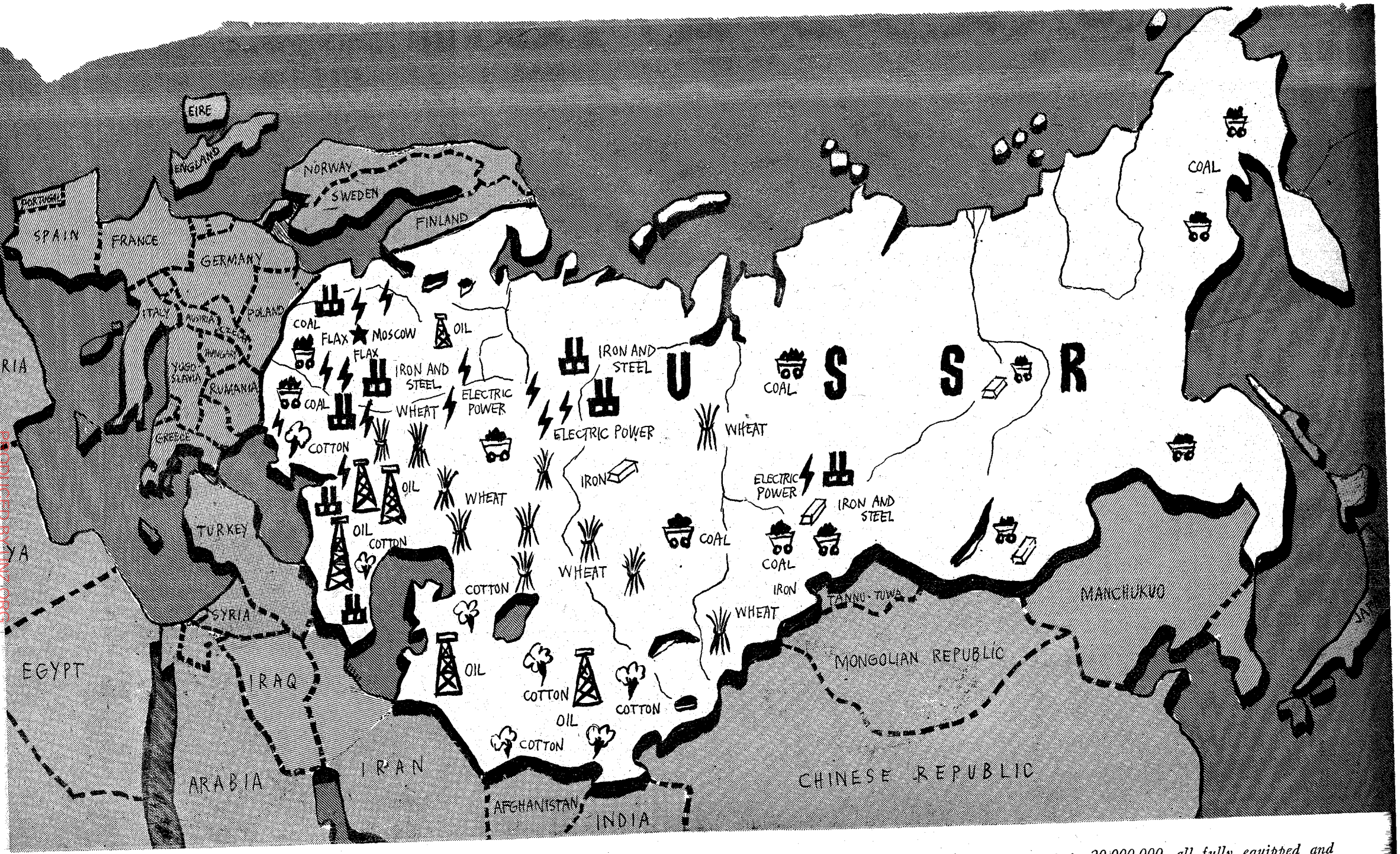

Here's what the map looks like if you take a section of the globe rather than plane dimensions. Looking at Europe from the point of view of a worker or farmer on the Volga, it's just a peninsula jutting out from the mainland of the Eurasian continent. Hitler's hordes are attacking along a 1,500-mile frontier from the Baltic to the Black Seas, with the main thrusts directed through the Ukraine and the eastern shore of the Caucasus. The Supreme Soviet has mobilized 6,000,000 men; the field army will hold the Nazi attack, supported by air force; the reserves, up to 20,000,000, all fully equipped and prepared will come into action somewhat later on. The Nazi attack will be cut up, the tanks checked and destroyed, and the Stuka bombers met with plentiful fighter planes. Every type of offensive and defensive warfare can be expected with mopping up and general push against the disintegrating Nazi armies coming at a later stage. Immediate purpose is to check, disorganize, and repulse the invasion from Soviet soil.

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Hitler expects to enforce his will against Britain on his own terms.

On the other hand, if the struggle should be longer drawn out and difficult, Hitler speculates that both in Britain and the United States certain circles will find ways of giving him open or concealed assistance in the form of food, airplane materials, and oil. From the experience of the infamous non-intervention committee in Spain, and from the experience of the Anglo-American oil companies in their traffic with Japan and with Franco, Hitler expects that his demonstration of "works" against socialism will regain him "faith" of the international bourgeoisie. In a drawn-out war, he is playing the big hunch—namely that while they fear his victory they cannot afford his defeat. It is the gamble of a regime which has gone from success to success in such gambles. It is a gamble which expressed the complete impasse that Germany has gotten into. It is a gamble which is bound to meet up with the fundamental surprise—the surprise that will set the tyrants reeling—the strength of the Red Army, Navy, and Air Force, the attraction which the Soviet cause will hold for progressive, decent people everywhere.

ON the face of it, therefore, some sections of the British bourgeoisie seem to have achieved their hearts' desire. On the face of it, this is the war they wanted so badly, the war for which they built Hitler up, and abased themselves at Munich, the war for which they went to war themselves in order to force Germany into an anti-Soviet orientation. And at first glance, the old hawk Neville Chamberlain must be turning over in his cancerous grave, demanding posthumous justice from all his opponents and defamers. And many a Tory must be sitting in his counting house or club, and reckoning that it was worth the price of sixty or seventy thousand British lives and the general destruction of the air-raids, worth the price of not bombing the Rumanian oil fields now that Hitler has finally been turned against the USSR.

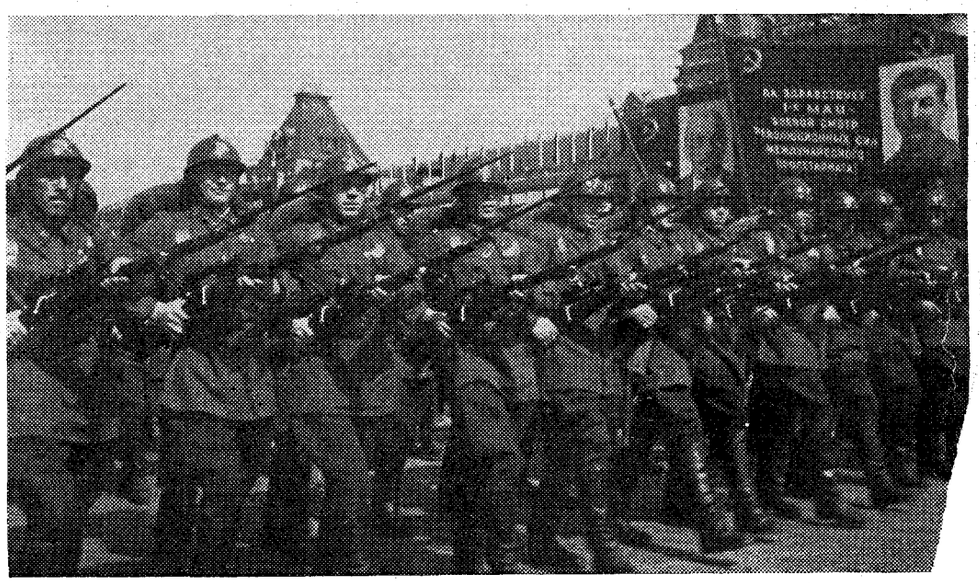
But that is just the face of it. It is not so simple. If Hitler's gamble expresses his own dilemma, the dangers and dilemmas confronting the British and American ruling class are equally profound. In the first place, the situation is much different from the post-Munich world, and instead of proceeding against the USSR under their control and direction and advice, Hitler is striking out independently, throwing terror into their hearts that he may gain a position against them that would be invincible. That is why decisive sections of the British ruling class, notably those which center around Churchill, are compelled to consider the practical possibility of cooperating with the USSR to make impossible the consolidation of Germany's position. On the other hand, they fear that this struggle in eastern Europe cannot be localized, for now something is coming to pass which they have so desperately tried to avoid for twenty-five years, namely that the armed might of the first socialist state is stepping forward into the very arena of central Europe. The Soviet Union's strategic position is far better than it was in the summer of 1939; its fleet dominates the Baltic and the Black Seas; its advance bases (as a glance at the globe will show) cut across Germany's lines of communications with the Swedish iron ore mines, with the Dardanelles. Moreover, the struggle takes place after two years of profound upheaval in all of Europe, when famine is stalking the countryside of once-wealthy nations, when the fabric of capitalist society has worn very thin. Molotov's comparison of Hitler to Napoleon recalls the fact that Napoleon was defeated not only by British and Russian arms but by the revolutionary upheavals in the plains of Lombardy and the hills of Spain.

AND THE DILEMMA goes even deeper. For in these last two years, the British ruling class was forced to acknowledge the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses, to give them official expression and sanction. Thus, while Hitler has taken this unusual risk of physical combat with the forces of socialism, in the hope of gaining a truce with Britain, the moment is such that the British ruling class will find it extremely difficult, and unwise from its own point of view, if it tries to dissipate the anti-fascist sentiments of the British masses, which now fully coincide with the aims of the Soviet struggle.

This is thin ice. Churchill recognized its dangers immediately, and that is why he came forward so quickly with such a forthright effort to retain his connections with the British people and allay their suspicions of British war aims. Churchill's speech reads quite strongly, and on all sides it is being acclaimed as sportsmanlike and principled. But in fact it is a product of deep anxieties within the British ruling class. When he pledged against negotiation with Hitler, he was trying to explain away the affair which has never yet been explained to the British. When he extended support to the USSR—in general terms—he was striving hard to retain on his side and under his influence the anti-fascist emotions of the British working class, trying to capitalize on the deep traditional sympathy of the British people for the land of Socialism. For Churchill remembers keenly that while has was trying to defeat the young Soviet republics, British longshoremen refused to load munitions to be used against the Russian people. And Churchill remembers also that while he was directing the strategy of the employers in breaking the General Strike of 1926, he was faced with the Anglo-Russian trade union committee, that great solidarity action between the British and Soviet trade unions which cannot be erased from the memory of British labor.

Churchill's speech has other implications, of course. It was in the first place addressed to the United States, also with a certain haste and purpose. For Churchill understands that the United States is not yet committed to formal conflict with Germany, that powerful forces in the American ruling class are opposed to such a commitment and favor exacting a stiff price from Britain for every nickel's worth of arms and munitions. Churchill's whole position within England is based on involving the United States on the British side. If Hitler's move by our analysis is calculated to split Britain away from the United States, it therefore confronts the pro-American orientation within the British ruling class with especial difficulties. Churchill's speech was an effort to say the first word, to give the line for his friends and supporters in the United States. It was an effort to make it more difficult for the United States to hold off supplies and material to Britain in the expectation that Germany's war now relieves the British of considerable pressure.

Thus far we have analyzed the alternatives



RED ARMY INFANTRY *in marching array. May Day, 1941.*

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Soviet Industry Hugo Gellert

and aspects of the situation. It should be noticed that Churchill's speech, although only a speech and a tentative one, is nevertheless a state paper, committing the whole empire. It remains to be seen what practical actions will develop. If the Soviet Union insisted that only actions would impress it in the spring of 1939, obviously today, in the fires of combat, it will count language for little unless accompanied by deeds. In the American press there is already a general discussion that the turn of the war represents Britain's great opportunity, that Britain ought to take advantage of the moment to strike hard in the Ruhr valley and think in terms of landings on the continent. It should be clear to us Americans, who sympathize deeply with the British people that it is altogether in their interests that Britain at last change its attitude toward the USSR. That is what the Peoples Convention has been demanding for most of the year.

But in this unprecedented situation, there are many facets to every development. Britain and even the United States may in the next few months undertake vigorous actions in pursuit of their war against Germany; they may endeavor to make common grounds with their own peoples by collaborating in a parallel fashion with the Soviet Union. And from he Soviet Union's point of view such actions ay be helpful and welcome. It is altogether the Soviet interest to cancel out previous agonisms with any group that is so dised. On the other hand, British and Americooperation in the war against Hitler, e objectively helpful to the USSR, may epresent the preparations of British and American imperialism—not to celebrate the defeat of Hitler—but to control the consequences of that defeat, to prevent the peoples of western and central Europe from taking their destinies into their own hands.

In this unprecedented moment, therefore, progressive Americans will have to watch the situation carefully, neither to run ahead of it nor lag behind it. Things will move quickly but they will also develop in partial and intermediate stages, making abstract attitudes impossible, and changing attitudes vital. Everything depends on the unity of the progressive masses of people, of all those who want Hitler defeated and recognize that this can never be achieved without considering the position and interests of the Soviet Union.

ON THE FACE OF IT, Walter Lippmann has scored a victory. For it was he, in a discussion of American policy toward the Soviet Union in March who projected the idea that the "grand strategy" of the Anglo-American war must be to present Hitler with such overwhelming force that he would be compelled to take on the easier job of attacking the USSR. And here lies the common ground between the interventionists and non-interventionists. Hoover and Kennedy and Lindbergh will argue that this is the fruit of their policy, that by arming and staying out of the war, they have diverted Hitler's thrust. Roosevelt and Bullitt and Lippmann will reply that it was their *active* policy, their *positive* attitude toward Germany, their policy of aiding Britain which now forced Hitler eastward.

But the average man will not be impressed with this discussion, nor will he be pleased with the insight it gives into the morality of our rulers, the real revelation which it provides of their war aims. The average man will judge every party and every political figure by their deeds. The people of this country want to remain at peace, and that is possible and necessary. But they will want to see what Britain and the United States mean to do about supporting the Soviet Union's defense against the Nazi attack. They will demand that a progressive policy abroad reflect progressive, democratic, liberating policies at home. They will want to see an end to Red-baiting, an end to the attack on the trade unions, the freedom of Earl Browder.

Yes, that and much more. The American worker, the small businessman, the intellectual will now demand the accounting: an accounting for the antics of Martin Dies, and the racket which he exploited so profitably in the name of fighting all the isms. The American citizen will demand an accounting for Jan Valtin's hoax, and all the other hoaxes of the same kind which have been perpetrated with such cynical venality on the American public. The school teacher will demand an accounting for the suicidal tactics of Dr. Counts and his cabal, who tried to wreck the teachers unions on the thesis that fighting Communism was the precondition to defeating fascism. The American people will dig deeper into a political understanding of what the dollar-a-year men are after, the enormous chicanery of the defense program which has become the private property of a handful of the biggest monopolies at the expense of the living standards, of the housewife, the worker, and his child.

While the armed forces of the first workers' republics test the strength and endurance of the fascist host, the people on this side of the Atlantic will have the opportunity to test who are the real anti-fascists, who are consistent in their struggle against reaction, who were the racketeers, hiding behind anti-Hitler slogans better to betray and stifle the forces of American democracy. The big surprise in this war will be the defeat of Hitler and everything he represents at the hands of the peoples of central Europe, a defeat which the Soviet people will initiate by force of their arms, but a defeat which only the peoples of Europe themselves can carry through to its conclusion in eastern Europe, and the Rhine. And an equal surprise to them all will be the maturing of the people's movement in this country, the unification of the trade union movement on a program of progress and civil liberties, the emergence of the American working class and its friends, fully able and willing to assure the safety and future of our country without sacrificing the heritage of our democratic past. In these actions in defense of their own positions lies the clearest and simplest solidarity of the American people with that great pioneering folk on the other side of the ocean who will be wiping Hitler and his system from the face of Europe at last.

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II. ANGLES FOR AMERICANS

The State Department's attitude toward the Soviet-Nazi conflict. Two kinds of wars. The interaction o domestic and foreign policy.

WHAT shall be said of the role of the United States at this new momentous turning point in world history? Our government, speaking through Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles, has condemned "Hitler's treacherous attack upon Soviet Russia," and declared: "In the opinion of this government, consequently, any defense against Hitlerism, any rallying of the forces opposing Hitlerism, from whatever source these forces may spring, will hasten the eventual downfall of the present German leaders, and will therefore redound to the benefit of our own defense and security." This has been followed by President Roosevelt's pledge at his press conference to give all possible aid to the USSR.

Whatever our government's motives, those statements express not merely the feelings, but the real interests of the vast majority of the American people. The question remains, however, whether this means an end to the pernicious anti-Soviet policy pursued for so long by the Roosevelt administration—the moral embargo, the ban on the export of machine tools, the months of cold hostility and studied rebuffs. And above all, does this mean that those words will be implemented with concrete measures of assistance for the Soviet Union? This involves something quite different from the old aid-to-Britain program. The issue is no longer that of helping a reactionary government, pursuing selfish imperialist aims, but of *assisting the most progressive government the world has known, on whose fate the whole future of mankind depends.* To a program of this kind the American people can give their wholehearted, undivided support, for their own defense and security are in truth bound up with the defense and security of those 200,000,000 people who have wiped out within their vast territory the rule of privilege and reaction in any form.

Unfortunately, the Welles statement, besides giving no indication of plans for collaboration with the USSR, sought to cancel in part its positive effect by drawing an analogy between the Soviet regime and the brutal Nazi dictatorship which is its complete antithesis. Only if the Roosevelt administration shows by acts—by freeing machine tools, by opening the benefits of the lend-lease law to the USSR, and by other measures—its readiness to aid the Soviet Union, will it be possible to place any credence in its professed opposition to Hitlerism.

It is quite evident that the motives which impel the dominant big business circles of this country are quite different from those that actuate the common folk who wish a clean-cut, speedy victory for Soviet arms. The overlords of finance and industry want to *use the Soviet Union in order to secure for Anglo-American imperialism the advantage over their German rival.* All the expressions of horror at the Nazi attack, mingled with ill-concealed joy, cannot obscure this central aim. Arthur Krock in the New York *Times* of June 24 speaks of "aiding Moscow to serve the ends of the United States." But the ends of the American people are quite different from those of the Wall Street monopolists who for nearly two years have been the major influence in Washington. What these fascist-minded monopolists seek in regard to the Soviet Union is a policy analogous to that now being pursued toward the struggle of the Chinese people. They want to help China enough to bog down Japan, but not enough to enable the Chinese to win a complete victory. By combining limited aid to China with appeasement of Japan—looking toward an ultimate compromise of the Sino-Japanese war—American imperialism seeks to become the determining force in the Far East. The fact that the principal conclusion drawn from the Nazi attack by Walter Lippmann, one of the leading spokesmen for those capitalist groups that are behind the Roosevelt foreign policy, is that "this is the time to make a satisfactory settlement with Japan," shows the character of big business thinking on this whole question. While America's economic royalists may be compelled for the present to relegate to the background their anti-Soviet aims, this is not for the purpose of smashing fascism, but of reducing German power to such proportions that an agreement on terms favorable to the rulers of America and England will be possible. Such an agreement would be at the expense not only of the Soviet Union, but of the peoples of the conquered and belligerent countries.

A somewhat different tactic has been adopted by Roosevelt's friendly opponents, th big business non-interventionists, whose chie pressure lobby is the America First Commit tee. This group includes, whether formall affiliated or not, both Nazi sympathizers lik Colonel Lindbergh, William Randolp Hearst, and Henry Ford, and men like Ger Hugh Johnson, Joseph P. Kennedy, an Alfred M. Landon, who, while favoring ai to Britain, fear the social disasters that migh result from full American involvement in prolonged war and have therefore regarde an agreement with Hitler as a lesser evil.

Rodney Frederick

These appeasers, who dare to pose as lover of peace, have expressed with the utmos cynicism their desire for war against th Soviet Union. And they are now bitterly attacking all proposals for assistance t the USSR. Their wishful thinking wa revealed in an editorial in the New Yor *World-Telegram* of June 20 which began "It's too bad all this talk of war betwee Germany and Russia seems to be nothing more than rumor so far." And just one da before the Nazi attack, General Johnson, i the Scripps-Howard press, gave an exhibitio of anticipatory licking of the chops that must revolt anyone with a spark of humanity and decency. "But boy," he wrote, "is thi Russian business a break for us if news reports are true? Perhaps Hitler can take the wheatfields of the Ukraine. He needs them. Most military men believe he can grab the oil fields of what the old British army called 'Messpot' (Iraq). He needs them also. And so might he control a self-contained inland empire. But, speaking entirely selfishly, is that so bad for us?"

When the Nazis actually launched their legions against the peoples of the USSR, Lindbergh and Landon found it expedient to go into communion with their souls, but other isolationist leaders like Senator Wheeler and John P. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, could hardly conceal their satisfaction behind a mask of indifference as to the outcome of this titanic struggle between the shining outpost of world freedom and democracy and the vanguard of capitalist barbarism and decay. Nor was there any lack of open apologetics for fascist aggression. Hearst in his column in the June 23 issue of his newspapers, delivered himself of a lengthy defense of Germany's action which virtually paraphrased Hitler's proclamatio about the war. "Let us hope," concluded th aged fuehrer of San Simeon, "that Occide tal peace can still be made and Europe uni against the expansion of Asiatic Communis And Spencer Williams, former "libe American journalist in Moscow—who exceedingly friendly with certain Hitler

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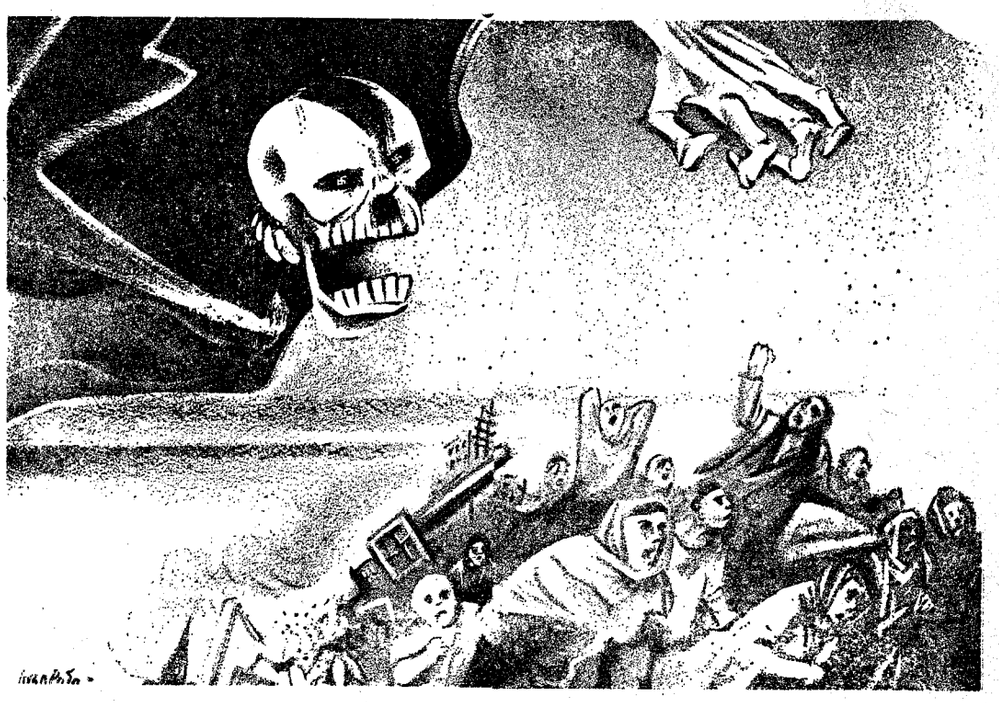
The Scrap Iron Chancellor *May 14, 1940*



September 12, 1939

MEMO TO CITY DESKS

With all the palaver about "flip-flops" last week, we invite you to glance at the New Masses cartoons on this page — and note the dates on which they were published.

The Editors.

"I see one of our boys is making good in America."
March 18, 1941

February 4, 1941

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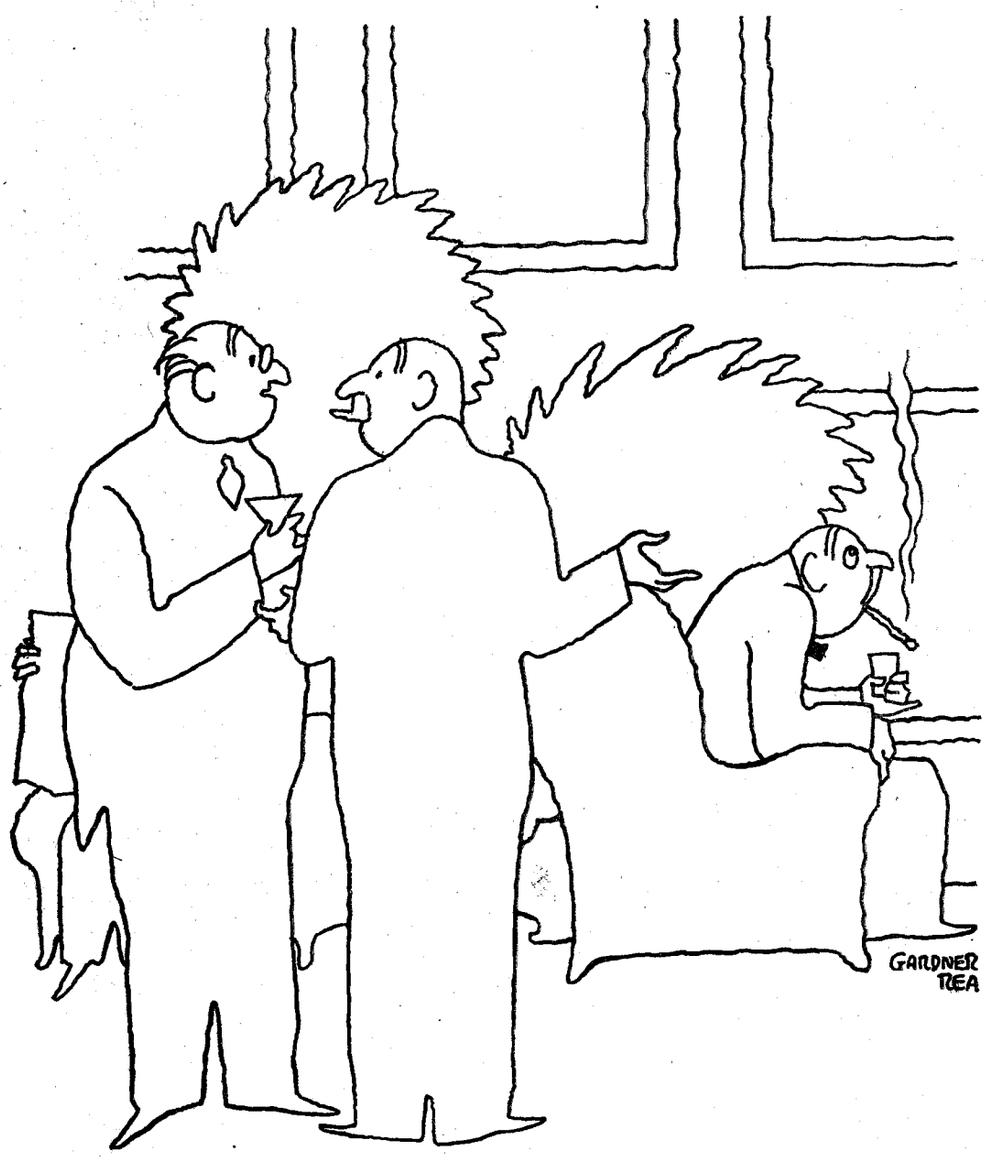

"Poor Astorbilt, he can't figure out why they're not in Moscow yet."

that figured in the Moscow trials—over the Columbia Broadcasting System described the Soviet people as praying for Hitler to deliver them. Immediately after the broadcast, CBS was flooded with indignant telephone calls. *There is no doubt where the sympathies of the American people lie in this new war.*

The Nazi guns that are belching horror and devastation upon innocent men, women and children in the Soviet land have inflicted one important casualty on this side of the ocean. They have smashed to bits the gargantuan lie of a Nazi-Soviet alliance with which the press and radio in the United States and England have sought to poison the minds of millions. What now is left of the vicious sniping about "Communazis"? Where now are all those canards so sedulously spread by reactionaries and renegade liberals that Communists and Nazis were cooperating to sabotage the Roosevelt arms program? What pit of shame can now be dug for that recent totalitarian philippic of Dorothy Thompson calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party, the jailing of its leaders, and the banning of the anti-war press on the ground that Moscow and Berlin are joined in an "international revolutionary conspiracy" against the United States?

Marxists are not pacifists, and our opposition to the aid-to-Britain program has not been based on pacifism or isolationism. It is necessary to draw a sharp distinction between just and unjust wars. The war of the Chinese people against Japan is a just, historically progressive war for national liberation, and NEW MASSES has given it unswerving support. The war of Germany and Italy on one side and Britain and the United States on the other has been a reactionary war in behalf of the ambitions of a tiny minority of wealthy men in each of those countries. That is why we have steadfastly opposed it. Now a new war bursts upon the world, that of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union. For all who love democracy and freedom there can be no hesitation: we must support with every ounce of our strength the defense of the USSR and insist that our own government act in the same spirit. There is all the more reason to do so in view of the fact that the Soviet Union represents not promise, but fulfillment, the organized freedom of [illegible]00 people whose struggle against the b[illegible]azi regime will give a tremendous imp[illegible]he liberating forces in Europe, Asia, and in every corner of the globe.

The role which the United States will play is also closely related to domestic issues. Our government has turned over the key posts of power to the American counterparts of the fascist capitalists of Germany. It is helping them loot the people through vast profiteering and the imposition of unequal tax burdens. It has jailed Earl Browder, used troops against strikers in Nazi style, it is trying to deport Harry Bridges and persecuting the foreign-born, fostering discrimination against Negroes, encouraging the Gestapo activities of the Dies committee, the Rapp-Coudert committee and the FBI, seeking to club labor into submission with "work or fight" orders and repressive legislation. This kind of government cannot be trusted to follow in the foreign sphere policies that will truly serve the people. While every effort needs to be made to shift the President and Congress in a completely different direction, clearly, here, as in England, a people's government—a Farmer-Labor administration—is required to assure government of, by, and for the people, and a constructive search for an anti-fascist, anti-imperialist peace. Only this kind of government will be the firm friend of the Soviet Union and the Chinese people —the friend of freedom everywhere.

The American people are faced with a supreme opportunity. The Roosevelt administration has sought to involve us in imperialist war under the pretense of fighting fascism. The common folk of this country can now salvage our peace and help win a democratic peace for the entire world by supporting a genuine struggle against fascism now raging on a 2,000-mile battlefront. American workers, the working people of the entire western hemisphere, have a particularly vital stake in this struggle. For it is the working class in power, the only workers' government that has been challenged; it is the largest trade union movement in the world that is threatened, it is the historic social gains of those who were the first to begin the liberation of mankind from capitalist tyranny that are being assaulted by the desperate savagery of a system condemned to death. Our own trade unions, our own social gains are menaced by this criminal attack. And the American people can strike additional blows at Hitlerism here and abroad by building a powerful, militant labor movement, by opposing every manner of discrimination against Negroes and Jews, by safeguarding and expanding civil liberties. Let us take heart, for the world, though terrible to look upon, can be made a thing o beauty and abundance for all. Let us mal certain that the evil cloud which seeks to bl out the great socialist sun that has risen the east will itself be driven out of the sk Our united effort, our unshakable faith assure the victory of democracy in Eu· in Asia, and in our own land.

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III. THE RED ARMY: MANPOWER AND MORALE

The Soviets' soldiers are supported by a mighty economy as well as all the machines of modern warfare. Testimony by experts. Why socialism makes for the best fighting men.

If we don't want any accidents to take our people by surprise—we must keep our powder dry and not be sparing of the means of production assigned to the output of airplanes, tanks, armaments, naval vessels, and munitions.—Soviet State Planning Commission.

IT IS a truism by now to say that the strong army of the twentieth century is more than a large aggregation of warlike men. The world has learned that military might is a reflection of economic strength. But Marxists knew half a century ago what military wiseacres today accept as axiomatic. Frederick Engels, pioneer in the field of modern military science, wrote in his famous work *Anti-Duhring:* "Nothing is more dependent on economic pre-conditions than the army and navy. Their armaments, composition, organization, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and communications." And Engels' writings on military science are today army textbooks for the privates as well as the commanders of the Red Army.

Perhaps it is because of this fact—that no army can be considered apart from the economic strength of its country—that the publicists of capitalism have been so reluctant to speak frankly of the Soviet Army. For to admit that the USSR is powerful militarily is to admit it is powerful economically, something which the Philistines have taken great pains to deny. There is evidence aplenty, however, that GHQ knows much more than it is willing to say, although many a brass-hat of the Colonel Blimp category has indulged in wishful thinking and has refused to face the fact.

The fact, bitter as it may be to the militarists of the world, is that the Red Army is a mighty power—in most respects the strongest in the world. Max Werner, certainly no friend of the USSR, is among the military experts who have noted "the tremendous military progress of the Soviet Union"—*(Military Strength of the Powers).* His analysis is buttressed by the testimony of numerous military observers such as Colonel von Bulow, Gandenberg von Moisy, General Debeney, General Loizeau, Henri de Kerillis, Captain Liddell Hart, and many others. Their testimony piles up into irrefutable argument, an argument carefully kept from the average man whose scant and misleading information comes from the commercial press which has rendered the Red Army a dark, mysterious enigma.

Naturally no army offers gratuitous information upon its strength, but conclusions concerning the strength of the Red Army can be drawn from a number of sources: the official Soviet military reports which give the picture of the growth of armaments in percentages, and the reports appearing in the foreign military journals, particularly the German. And, if one is an honest, objective observer, one can also judge from the actual military encounters in which the Soviet Army has en-

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gaged: the Finnish war, the "one-round" anti-Soviet interventionist wars beginning with the Manchurian Marshal Chang Hsueh Liang, the 300 border skirmishes with the Mikado's troops, the performance of the Soviet aviators and their machines in Spain. Admissions of the Red Army strength, in materiel as well as manpower and morale, were being made as far back as 1934 when the French General Baratier admitted in *Le Temps,* "The Red Army possesses an even greater number of mechanized weapons than the best armies in Europe."

Today's armies—and particularly that of the Nazis—gauge their strength upon the three M's—materiel, mobility, and masses. It has been amply demonstrated that the Soviet Army excels in each of these categories.

BEGINNING with the last of these first, masses —the human element—few honest authorities can deny that the Soviet soldier is one of the best, if not the best, fighting man in the world. Those who had the good fortune to watch the Soviet aviator at work in Spain against the Nazi and Italian airmen will always remember what a remarkable fighting man he was. The Red Army man's performance in Finland—laboring under the most fantastic weather conditions—has drawn the grudging praise of military commentators. Colonel Hannula, a high officer in the Finnish Army, described the assault tactics of the Red Army against the Mannerheim Line in terms of highest respect. A leading American military magazine, the *Infantry Journal,* for March-April 1940, said in discussing the capture of the Mannerheim Line: "Above all, it takes morale along with men and materiel."

Mr. Werner hits upon the reason for this morale in his *Military Strength of the Powers.* "The Red Army," he writes, "is something more than a mere military instrument. It is at the same time a school and a political organization. There is no other army in the world which pays greater attention to the question of education. The Red Army is an educational institution which seeks to raise the general educational level of its men." Mr. Werner, however, because he is no friend of socialism, does not get at the root. He does not understand that the Red Army man is a soldier such as the world never before saw, because Soviet Russia is a land such as the world never before witnessed. Freed of the trammels of the profit system, his mind and abilities unshackled, the Soviet soldier knows he is fighting for the socialist fatherland—he is ready to die for the brotherhood of the laboring man. As the *Deutsche Wehr* said uneasily as far back as December 1935: "Since the existence of the Red Army there has been no single case of mutiny either at the front or behind the lines. The question as to the reliability of the Red soldier in the event of war must be answered in the affirmative." Confirmation of this judgment comes from no less a source than the British Conservative "Round Table" which declared in an article in 1937 "that in the matter of morale there was hardly another army in the world which could compare with the Red Army."

How many men of such quality can the Soviet army draw upon? Here again the numbers are unequalled in modern times. The Soviet people numbers close to 200,000,000. If one estimates a "mobilization quotient" of one-tenth—not an excessive figure, according to military authority, the number of 20,000,000 is reached. Remember that but half a million men were engaged against the Finns last year. In the fifteen years since the reorganization of the Red Army some 11,000,000 men have received full military training, and another 11,000,000, partial training. "This," according to *Soviet Russia Today's* military expert, who writes under the pseudonym The Captain, "does not take into account those receiving military 'pre-army' training from army instructors in the schools and in the clubs and circles of the Osoaviakhim (voluntary Society for Assistance to the Airforce and Chemical Troops). In the schools and colleges two hours weekly are set aside for 'elementary' and preparatory military training for students of thirteen and over. From them come the Voroshilov sharpshooters, the amateur parachutists, glider pilots, skiers, pilots, tank-drivers, etc." In fact practically everybody within the ages of fifteen to forty-five has received some sort of military training, thus providing over 75,000,000 people who could be useful in guerrilla warfare, if any enemy could ever thrust far enough into the country to encounter the people. The foe would literally find a nation of trained, superior fighting men, women, and youngsters facing him from all sides. From these comes the standing army.

Mr. Werner himself finally sums up: "Complete political reliability and high morale together with powerful economic backing and modern war technique are the main factors of Red Army strength."

GRANTED the morale of the Red Army, the next consideration must be that of materiel. For without it, the bravest, most intelligent armies will be reduced, beaten down, annihilated. The instance of the Spanish Republican army is classic. But as I remarked before, the Soviet people understood the need for materiel long ago, long before the Reichswehr generals, who built Hitler's army, saw the matter clearly. The simple fact is that the *Panzerdivisionen,* the *Luftwaffe,* the parachutists, are based upon Soviet experience, and not vice versa. Back in 1925, shortly after the Soviet people had ousted the last interventionist armies from its soil, the famous People's Commissar for War, Frunze, wrote that the backwardness of military equipment of the Red Army was dangerous—could prove fatal. He demanded that the Soviet state regard the technical level of Soviet arms as first upon the national agenda. He inveighed against those who based their opinions solely upon the experiences of the civil war and who, therefore, were prone to underestimate the importance of technical equipment. He insisted that future wars would be very different from the civil war and that the Red Army would, one day or another, be confronted with weapons mightier than those used in 1918-20. His opinions were shared by others in the military, by Stalin, by Voroshilov. The Soviet general staff wanted materiel "to aim at creating a modern war technique which would permit the development of an initial war of defense into a powerful counter-offensive against the aggressor." They worked out a strategy of "numbers multiplied by mobility." They saw the need for tanks, and for airplanes, but they rejected the "ultra-modern" theories of exclusive use of tanks (Fuller) or exclusive use of planes (Douhet), as well as the outdated theories which the French General staff sponsored, relegating planes and tanks to the function of auxiliaries. The Red Army adopted the massed use of both weapons, dialectically, one may say, in coordination with all other arms. And it was this experience which the German generals utilized for the benefit of their own armies.

TO CONSTRUCT such an army required heroic effort as well as foresight. The Soviet people quickly realized that mere recognition of the need was not enough: the deficiency of armaments could only be remedied by the construction of a powerful heavy industry.

In 1928 the Soviet economic organ *Ekonomicheskoye Obozrenie* wrote:

> In drawing up our five-year economic plan we must pay great attention to the rapid development of those branches of our economic system in general and of our war industries in particular, which will play the main role in consolidating the defensive powers of our country and ensure economic stability in time of war. Industrialization also means the development of our war industries.

However, as The Captain points out in *Soviet Russia Today,* so much attention was paid to all the needs of the people that despite this emphasis on rearmament and the tremendous growth of defense appropriations (369,000,000 roubles in 1923, 395,000,000 in 1924, 1.5 billion in 1933, 5,000,000,000 in 1934, 8,000,000,000 in 1935, 14.8 billion in 1936, 22.4 billion in 1937) the allotments never exceeded 25-30 percent of the total budget. (It is, he writes, about thirty-two percent of the total in 1941.)

The results came quickly: the "motorization quotient" of the Red Army, figuring the number of mechanical horse-power per man, rose as follows: 2.6 in 1929, 3.07 in 1930, 7.74 in 1933, and 13.0 in the beginning of 1939.

The strength of the Soviet Army grew prodigiously in the thirties as the country made giant strides economically, socially, culturally. By 1941 the State Planning Commission could state "Our industry was and is the base for the development of the whole economy. Industry was and is the leading sector in the whole system of economy. In

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Statistics on the Soviet Union†

	1913	1928	1932	1937	1938[f]	1940	Plan 1941
Population of the USSR (millions)	139.3[10]	147.0[1]	165.7[2]	...	170.5[13]	193 *	...
Including urban (millions)	24.7[10]	26.3[1]	40.3[2]	...	55.9[13]	...	...
Number of Workers and Employees (mil.)	11.2	11.6	22.9	27.0	28	30.4	31.6
National Income (billion rubles 1926-27 prices)	21.0	25.0	45.5	96.3	105	125.5	...
Budget Expenditure[a]—Total (million rubles)	...	6,670.4[15]	30,283.0	93,921	123,996	173,259	216,052
To National Economy	...	...	...	39,333	51,709	57,110	72,875
To Education	...	...	...	15,300	18,774	22,682	26,612
To Health	...	...	...	6,827	7,608	9,379	10,891
To Defense	...	...	...	17,481	23,151	56,102	70,865
To Administration	...	...	...	4,948	9,622	6,752[b]	7,142[b]
Industrial Production							
Electric Power (bill. kw. hrs.)	1.9	5.0	13.5	36.4	39.6	...	...
Coal (million tons)	29.1	35.5[3]	64.7	127.1	132.9	164.6[c]	191
Oil and Gas (million tons)	9.2	11.7[3]	22.3	30.6	32.2	34.2[c]	38
Peat (million tons)	1.7	5.3	14.8	24.9	26.5	...	39
Pig Iron (million tons)	4.2	3.3	6.2	14.5	14.6	14.9[c]	18.0
Steel (million tons)	4.2	4.3[3]	5.9	17.7	18.0	18.4[c]	22.4
Rolled Steel (million tons)	3.5	3.4[3]	4.3	13.0	13.3	12.8[c]	15.8
Aluminum (thousand tons)	0	0	0.9	37.7	56.8	59.9[c]	99.4[c]
Copper (thousand tons)	31.1	35.5[5]	45.0	100.7[c]	103.2	166.2[c]	216.7[c]
Automobiles and Trucks (thousands)	0	0.7[3]	23.9	200.0	211.4		
Locomotives (Units)	664	479	827	1,214	1,626		
Freight cars[e] (thousands)	14.8	10.8[3]	23.1	66.1	49.1		
Public Health							
Hospitals, Number of Beds (thousands)	175.5	246.8	410.8	618.1	672.0*	840.0*	...
Number of Physicians (thousands)	19.8	63.2	76.0	105.6	110.0	120.0	145.0
Sanatoria and Rest Homes (not incl. those for children), Number of Beds (thousands)	...	...	138.4	223.2	...	445.0	...
Education—School Enrollment[g]							
Primary and Secondary (thousands)	7,896.2	12,068.2	21,397.2	29,562.0	31,517.4	35,000.0	36,200.0
Higher Education Institutions (thousands)	112.0	176.6	504.4	547.2	602.9	619.9[13]	657.0
Tekhnikums and Other Secondary Technical Schools (thousands)	35.8	206.3	723.7	862.5	951.9	...	...
Factory Schools (F.Z.U. and other apprenticeship schools) (thousands)	93.2	272.6	958.9	224.3	242.2	...	...
Newspapers printed (number)	859	1,197	7,536	8,521	8,550	9,000*	...
Circulation (millions)	2.7	9.4	35.5	36.2	37.5	38.0*[13]	...
Magazines, Number of Titles (thousands)	1.3	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	...	...
Annual Circulation (millions)	...	303.1	317.6	250.2	257.2	...	...
Books, Number of Titles (thousands)	26.2	34.2	51.0	37.4	40.0	43.8[13]	...
Number of Copies (millions)	86.7	265.0	548.6	673.5	692.7	701.0[13]	...
Theaters	153[10]	...	551[3]	697	702	825	...
Cinemas	1,412[10]	7,331.0	27,138	28,345	28,574	30,919[13]	...
Agriculture							
Number Collective Farms (July 1—thousands)	0	57[5]	224.6[9]	...	242.4	...	...
Number of State Farms	0	1,407	4,337	3,992	3,961	...	...
Number of Machine-Tractor Stations	0	158[6]	2,115	5,818	6,358	6,980	7,367
Sown Area[h]							
In State Farms (thousand hectares)	...	1,735	13,448	12,163	12,411	...	...
In Collective Farms (thousand hectares)	...	1,400	91,533	115,980	117,200	...	...
In Collective Farmers' Gardens	...	1,200	2,505	5,021	5,300	...	...
In Individual Farms	...	108,700	26,949	1,075	900	...	...
Sown Area—Total (million hectares)	105.0	113.0	134.4	135.3	136.9	151.1[c]	157.0
To Grains	94.4	92.2	99.7	104.4	102.4	110.9[c]	111.1
To Technical Crops	4.5	8.6	14.9	11.2	11.0	11.8[c]	12.0
To Vegetables and Potatoes	3.8	7.7	9.0	9.0	9.4	10.1[c]	11.4
Agricultural Production							
Grain (million centners)	801.0	733.2	698.7	1,202.9	949.9	1,195.8	1,291.46
Raw Cotton (million centners)	7.4	...	12.7	25.8	26.9	25.2[c]	...
Sugar Beets (million centners)	109.0	101.4	65.6	218.6	166.8	210.0[13]	...
Potatoes (million centners)	233.1	456.3[5]	492.5[2]	656.3	419.6	671.4[13]	...

† All statistics from *The American Review on the Soviet Union,* June 1941.

* Approximate. [a] 1928 and 1932 breakdown omitted because categories not comparable to succeeding years. [c] Computed from percentages mentioned by Voznesensky, February 1941. [e] Two-axle units. [g] School years begin in Fall of year indicated. [h] Not including gardens of workers and employees which totaled 1.1 million hectares in 1938.

[1]—1926; [2]—1933; [3]—1927-28; [5]—1929; [6]—1930; [9]—1916; [10]—1914; [13]—1939; [15]—1928-29.

(Tons are metric tons (2204.6 lbs.); Centner = 220.46 lbs.; Hectare = 2.471 acres)

Principal Sources: SSSR i Kapitalisticheskie Strany; Kulturnoe Stroitelstvo; Planovoe Khoziaistvo, Nos. 5, 8, 1939; *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitelstvo SSSR, 1936 and 1939; Sotsialisticheskoe Selskoe Khoziaistvo, Statisticheskii Sbornik;* Voznesensky, *Economic Results of the USSR in 1940 and the Plan of National Economic Development for 1941;* Zverev, Budget Speech, 1941; Stalin, Speech, 1939; *Itogi Vypolneniia Vtorogo Piatiletnogo Plana.*

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advances our whole socialist economy, including agriculture and transport. Industry was and is the base of the defensive power of the country. In the present international situation very responsible work confronts our industry, in all its branches."

For the Soviet realized it had all the war necessities required to make itself completely self-reliant, unafraid of "the capitalist encirclement." According to Max Werner, in his *Military Strength of the Powers,* the USSR is in an infinitely more favorable position than Germany. The latter must import the great majority of raw war materials: the Soviet needs only to exploit its own national treasures. The following table, appearing on page 226 of Werner's book, is most revealing:

Percentage of Essential Raw Material Supplies each country is capable of producing:

	Germany	USSR	
Oil	30	100	
Iron Ore	28	100	
Copper Ore	11	...	
Manganese Ore	..	100	
Bauxite	7	100	
Zinc	48	100	
Chromium	..	100	
Rubber	25	56	(Artificial)
Cotton	..	100	

Though Hitler has overrun the continent, the poverty of the other countries in those vital materials has not made it possible to improve his position greatly. Even his supply of Rumanian oil will be drastically reduced now with the Soviet airfleet within a few minutes' flight of Bucharest.

The vaunted strength of the Nazi army is based chiefly upon its *Luftwaffe* and its tanks, its motorized armies, the *Panzerdivisionen.* Much has been written by military wiseacres of the inferior quality of the Soviet air force. Anybody who was in Spain can tell you otherwise. Nobody can forget that great day over Madrid when the Soviet *chatos* lay waiting in the clouds for the daily bombing of the city by the Nazi airfleet. And none can forget how twenty-seven of the Nazi planes came tumbling down from the skies after the encounter with the Soviet airmen. From that day on mastery of the air was won by the Red aviators. The Messerschmidts and Junkers, the Savoies and the Fiats fled in mortal terror from the *chatos* and *moschkas.* Even the hostile *Paris Journal* admitted that the speed of Soviet bombers was about fifty miles an hour faster than that of the Junker bombers.

As far back as December 1936 Colonel Von Bulow, a leading German air observer, wrote in a Nazi journal:

> The figures prove that within a few years Soviet Russia has far outstripped the productive possibilities of all other countries, including the U. S. A. It is hardly likely that any other country will ever be in a position to catch up with Soviet Russia in this particular branch [air force] of the armament race.

And according to Mr. Werner, the German aircraft industry has half the productive capacity of the Soviet: 120,000 workers employed in the industry as compared with 250,000 in the Soviet Union. He estimates (for 1936) a total production of between 4,000 and 5,000 planes as against 8,000 in the Soviet Union. Assuming that the Third Reich has greatly stepped up its manufacture since, every indication is at hand that the Soviet Union did not rest upon its laurels. It not only kept pace but it increased the tempo of production. According to Voroshilov's report in March 1939 the personnel of the Soviet Air Force increased by 138 percent since 1934: the number of planes jumped by 130 percent. In 1937 the German military magazine *Wehrmacht* estimated the Soviet Air Force at from 15,000 to 17,000. One can therefore assume the Soviet Air Force of 1939 was surely no less than 15,000 planes. And two years of great construction have passed. In that period the "bomb-salvo" of the Soviet air-fleet had increased from 2,000 to more than 6,000 tons. Voroshilov's report further noted bomber speeds as far surpassing 300 mph and their ceiling as surpassing 46,000 to 49,000 feet. And these figures apply to 1938 only.

As an indication of Soviet ingenuity and creativeness consider the parachutists of the Red Army. The first action of this arm occurred in 1931, against a band of marauders in Central Asia. As far back as 1935 the Soviet fliers dropped whole brigades with artillery and light tanks. When did the Germans follow suit? In 1938. The United States first began in 1940. France never even attempted this action. The British tried it in Southern Italy some six months ago but full results were never divulged.

AS TO Hitler's far-famed tanks. According to Werner in 1936 the Soviet Union had about thirty times as many tractors as Germany. By this time we have learned that tractor production is an excellent criterion to estimate tank production. The mechanization of agriculture in the Soviet Union gave great impetus to the motorization of the Red Army. According to Mr. Werner about 450,000 tractors were ploughing up the boundless Soviet fields in 1938. "If necessary," he says, "every tractor is a valuable means of army transport, or, constructed a little differently and armed, a tank." Another factor to consider: the skilled personnel to run the mechanized armies. Inexhaustible numbers of farm-youth have been trained as mechanics in various branches of mechanized farming. As far back as December of 1936 *Pravda* pointed out that these farmers can be used, in event of war, as truck drivers and tank crews, and, with somewhat more training, as airmen, artillerymen, submarine crews. "Soviet tank production has practically limitless possibilities, and in this respect, Germany cannot hope to compete," Mr. Werner says. Space does not permit a discussion of the artillery strength of the Soviet Union—but the same general principles apply.

Finally, this fact: Hitler has made great use of his air force, his mechaniz[illegible]es, on other European countries. But [illegible] a totally different problem in his wa[illegible]e gigantic Soviet Union. Colonel v[illegible]w pointed out in a Nazi military journal (*Militarwissenschaftliche Rundschau,* Dec. 1936):

> Russia is the only European state which is unlikely to be attacked effectively from the air owing to the enormous extent of her territory. The vastness of the country, the comparatively low density of its population and the fact that its war industries and governmental and administrative centers are far away from the frontiers afford it a certain natural protection from air attack despite the increase in the range of modern bombers. From the standpoint of defense, therefore, the air strategic situation of Soviet Russia could not be more favorable. Soviet Russia is a country which at the present stage of aviation technique need have no fear for its air security.

According to a German air expert Gandenberg von Moisy, "The distribution of her population makes Germany . . . sixty times as susceptible as Russia."

The Soviets have shifted their base of industry and raw materials to a vast area between the Volga—the Eastern boundary of European Russia, and the Irtish, the westernmost of the big Asiatic rivers. The gradual shift of the strategic center to this locale was one of the objectives of the first two Five Year plans. The center of the steel industry, Magnitogorsk, is out of the reach of enemy bombers. However, from the western borders of the USSR it is but a 650-mile flight to the Ruhr. A plane taking off from East Prussia would have to fly close to 2,000 miles to reach Magnitogorsk.

To conclude: the Soviet Union has operated on the principle that it is a socialist country completely encircled by lands controlled by imperialists. Sooner or later another attempt would be made to destroy it. Therefore, it has worked mightily, but always kept its powder dry. It has been in a "state of full mobilizational preparedness" ever since the summer of 1939, if not since September 1938. For that reason United Press dispatches can tell us of the strange Olympian calm the people possess in the midst of the turmoil and confusion of the rest of the world —and even after Hitler has turned his armies finally toward the East. That calm grows out of a sense of strength: it does not reveal the terrific driving power the Soviet citizen possesses. It does not tell of the long-prepared plans of the USSR "to aim at creating a modern war technique which would permit the development of an initial war of defense into a powerful counter-offensive against the aggressor." In the course of the fighting today, the Soviet armies are preparing their "powerful counter-offensive against the aggressor." In the meanwhile there will probably be an abysmal muddle of accounts in the commercial press, as there was at the time of Baron Mannerheim. But the truth will emerge to the rejoicing of all the honest men in the world.

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IV. BACKGROUND OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Twenty-four years of imperialist encirclement. The clear-cut tenets on which socialist relations with other countries rested. From Denikin, the League of Nations to Munich.

IT HAS always been apparent that the peace policy of the Soviet Union could not of itself insure the world or even the socialist state against the outbreak of war. The moment when the uneasy imperialist armistice between wars would be broken was dependent on the relationship of forces, on the needs of the great exploiting nations, and their ability to overcome the resistance of the masses who desired and fought to preserve the peace. Now imperialism's most dreadful crime has been committed. Now the fascist armies violate the borders of the one nation which has consistently given guidance and power to everything that is meaningful to mankind, everything that means progress and human advancement. At this moment those of us who have watched Marxism-Leninism triumph in the Soviet Union know that out of this struggle will come the victory of a real and stable peace.

As the marauders deliver the first blow, the detractors and sycophants begin their frolic. They who have distorted history with scrupulous regard for the fantastic and untrue, now gloatingly chant "We told you so!" and "It serves the Russians right!" They "warned" against the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of 1939. And the USSR, which pursued its course without benefit of the *New Republic* and the Hearst papers, which so blatantly disregarded the opinions of the *Nation* and the New York *Times,* and even, for that matter, of Mr. Sumner Welles, can now take its medicine.

Be that as it may. The strength and ability of the Soviet Union to protect itself, "to return blow for blow" as Stalin warned in 1935, is discussed elsewhere in this issue. But for the sake of understanding the character of this new war, it is well to review once again the consistent foreign policy, the policy for the preservation of peace, pursued for twenty-four years by the USSR. For, as Lenin repeatedly stressed, citing Clausewitz, "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Lenin expanded this idea, remarking that "The politics which a certain country, a certain class in that country, pursued for a long period before the war, are inevitably pursued by that very same class during the war; it merely changes its form of action."

The Soviet Union, composed of federated socialist republics, is not racked by class war, but linked in a new kind of state where for the first time in history the interests of workers and peasants and intellectuals are paramount. The politics of the Soviet Union, where there are no exploiters, are the politics of the people. The politics pursued by the Soviet Union for a long period before its war are the politics which the Soviet Union will follow now.

The strength of the USSR has always rested on its freedom from the contradictions and necessities that bind the imperialist nations. But there was nothing pacifistic in this new way of life. The very real understanding of the inevitability of war so long as capitalism obtained in all but one country, the knowledge that the land of socialism was menaced so long as it remained encircled by capitalist nations, allowed of only one policy—the pursuit of an independent course, striving to give encouragement to the victims of oppression everywhere while preparing for the eventuality that imperialism might turn on the Soviet Union. The Red Army was a guarantee that come what may, the Soviet Union could act in its own interest.

FROM THE MOMENT that the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917, the Soviet Union was confronted with the problem of enunciating a foreign policy which would permit survival and provide the opportunity to push ahead the immense task of building a socialist society. Even while war continued in 1918 in France, the two sets of capitalist belligerents agreed that the Russian people must be brought back into the imperialist fold. Russian unity and courage turned back the repeated invasions. But the routing of the interventionist armies did not alter the hostile attitude of the capitalists.

Throughout the decade of the twenties, during which capitalism partially stabilized itself, the Soviet Union gradually emerged as a nation that could not be ignored in international affairs. Though facing continual provocation, though refused recognition by the United States and other powers, the USSR went ahead with its socialist program, laying the foundations of industrialization and agrarian collectivization. In 1922 the Soviet Union was invited to an international economic conference at Genoa, where the imperialists demanded the return of factories and plants nationalized by the Revolution and in addition, insisted that the Soviet Union should stand responsible for loans made by the czarist regime. The Soviet Union rejected this impertinence, and rebuffed British threats of renewed intervention. Instead, the USSR entered into a trade agreement with Germany at Rapallo. By 1924, with the knowledge that the Soviet Union could not be intimidated, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy resumed diplomatic relations.

Thenceforward, the Soviet Union refused to be pushed around, it cooperated with all moves making for the slightest prospect of securing peace for Europe and the Orient. It went so far as to propose real disarmament. This "shocking" suggestion was unanimously denounced by the great powers of the West, frightened by the insistence of the Soviet Union that disarmament was not such a complicated business after all, but could be achieved by scrapping armaments and limiting their production. This was unheard of presumption. The intention and result of the innumerable disarmament conferences held in the twenties was to expand armaments; certainly, never to curtail them.

Soviet peace became even more difficult to guard after 1929. Crisis gripped the entire imperialist world, and only the Soviet Union was immune. Hard-put, the imperialists abandoned caution in the hope of bolstering failing home economies. Germany was tottering: its rulers pressed toward fascism. The overlords of France, determined to preserve the balance of power, felt this was possible only if they successfully consolidated control of Central Europe. In the Orient, Japanese armies marched into Manchuria. Only one common ground for agreement remained for all capitalist nations: the desirability of reconciling difficulties at the expense of the Soviet Union. But while unity against the USSR might for a time resolve some imperialist difficulties, such unity proved illusive in the face of the scramble for immediate markets.

With the coming to power of Hitlerism in Germany, the expectations of victimizing the Soviet Union were given new impetus. Behind the fascist victory was the fine hand of the British ruling class. A militant Germany could act as a restraint on France with its formidable structure of alliances in Middle Europe. Even more appalling, the Nazis spoke of turning eastward. And so British and American money flowed into Berlin.

In an attempt to forestall the imperialist drive to war, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, bringing the strongest voice for peace into the council. As spokesman for the Soviet Union, Maxim Litvinov called for a realistic policy. War anywhere in the world, he reiterated, menaced the peace of all, for peace was indivisible. Aggression, no matter where it occurred, encouraged further aggression elsewhere. Yet the moves toward war could be halted. They could be halted by a system of collective security in which all nations pledged themselves emphatically to resist any aggression.

In 1935 the Soviet Union concluded a mutual assistance pact with France, and soon thereafter signed similar agreements with Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic, and a non-aggression pact with the Chinese Republic. From that time onward, the Soviet Union urged economic and military sanctions against the aggressors—the Italians in Ethiopia, the Germans in Austria, the Japanese in China, the German-Italian

(Continued on p. 18)

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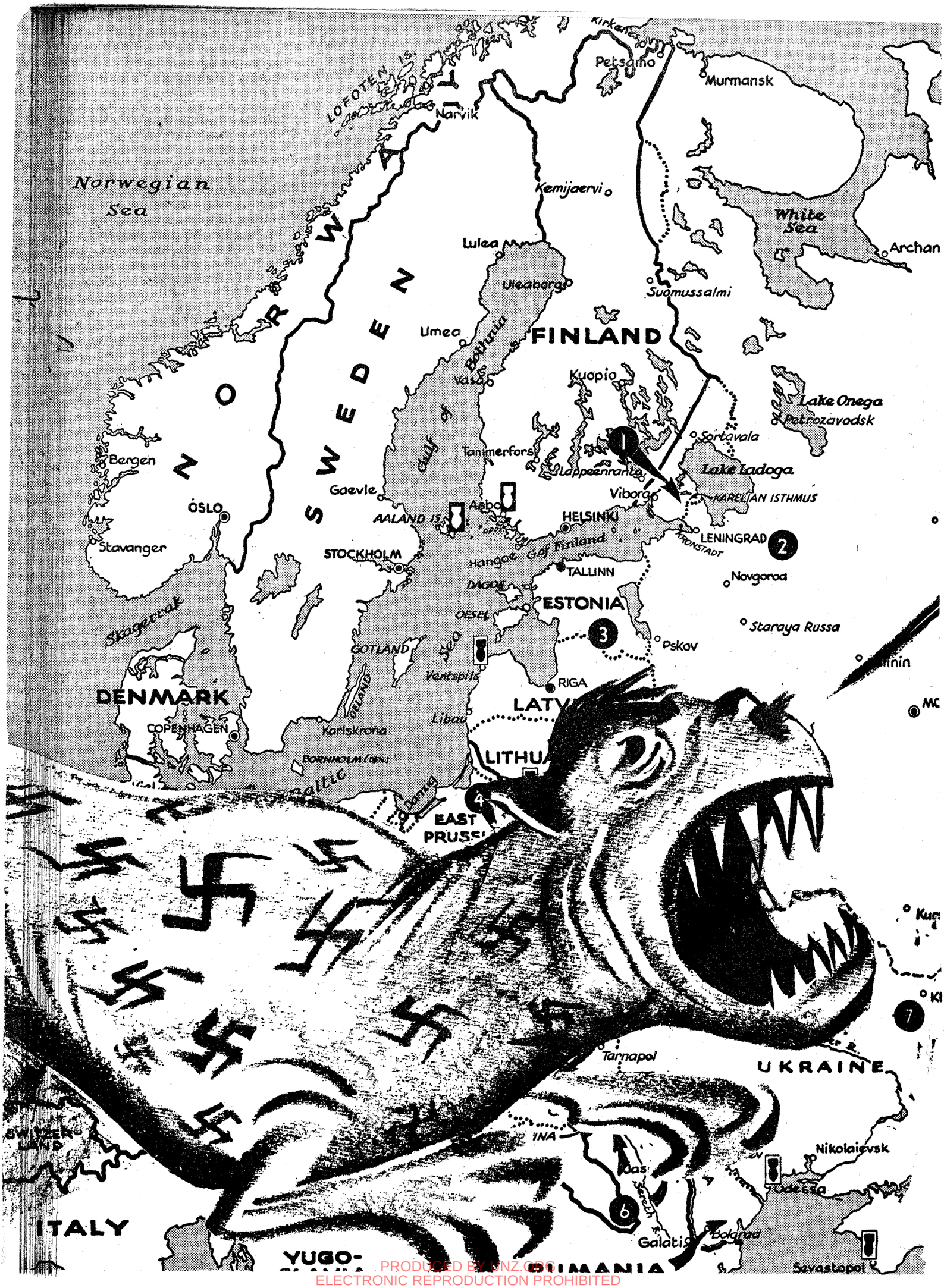

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Axis in Spain, the occupation of Albania, Memel. But the presence of one socialist nation could not transform the character of the League, dominated by Great Britain and France. One by one, the small states were attacked and demolished. The Roosevelt government in Washington talked of quarantining the aggressors, yet it slapped a crippling embargo on the Spanish people's fight against fascism. Madrid, instead of becoming the grave of fascism, was cynically sacrificed. Further, the United States refused to give serious support to the Chinese people in their struggle against Japan. The Tories frankly supported Hitler, urging him eastward. The French refused to honor their mutual assistance pact with Czechoslovakia—and that crucial appeasement of Germany at Munich, supported by Washington and Paris, had as its main intent to isolate the Soviet Union, to dangle it as a plum before Hitler.

YET even after Munich the Soviet Union refused to abandon its drive for peace. But now it warned that unless the western imperialisms responded without delay, the British would discover that the USSR had other means by which it could guard itself. The Soviet appealed to the peace-loving masses to force their rulers to establish the principle of collective security. But the people, insufficiently organized, villainously misled by the Social-Democratic "Leftists" who talked "socialism" and conspired with their masters to engineer the anti-Soviet war, could not force a change in the actions of their governments. Appeasement prevented the unity against fascism that could have prevented war. True, Chamberlain and Daladier were forced to conceal their real aims by equivocation, by sending a "mission" to Moscow—to give the pretense of negotiating. But this mission only too clearly revealed the intent of the imperialists, their resolve to continue empty gestures while they egged Hitler on. The negotiators at this critical moment lacked authority to enter into any agreements, and openly showed their desire for nothing to come out of the aimless and sporadic talks.

During this period Stalin enunciated the clear cut tenets on which Soviet foreign policy rested. In his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin named the four points that underlay Soviet relations with other countries:

1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;
2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them;
3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost;
4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

Here was the basis of cooperation that Chamberlain and Daladier scorned. Instead they pursued an elaborate game of double talk, and Chamberlain even went so far as to "guarantee" the integrity of Poland, while he urged the Poles to reject Soviet aid, both military and diplomatic.

The Soviet Union could hesitate no longer. The British and French rulers had indicated over a period of years, even as the German war machine geared itself for new conquests, that nothing would persuade them to approve joint action with the Soviet Union. With the war a few days off, the Soviet Union agreed to a request from Germany for a non-aggression pact. And thereby it implemented its peace policy yet again. The game played by the Tories and the French had failed. For the non-aggression treaty was proof that the Soviet Union was able to defend its own territory, that its strength was such that Germany must renounce for the time being its long-cherished understanding with Chamberlain to take up arms against the USSR.

The best laid plans had fallen through. Germany, which had been strengthened for this purpose, was now a formidable imperialist rival. The war broke out in the West—for the mastery of the world, the redivision of the markets and the loot.

That was the Soviet's greatest "crime"—its refusal to be drawn into the war at the time scheduled by the British and the French. Today there is momentary gloating in the tents of reaction, among the instant-wise little people who see only the immediate event without comprehending its context in history. True, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact did not prevent the criminal invasion of this week. But did the Soviet Union make a mistake to sign the agreement in the first place?

At all times the Soviet Union has voiced its awareness that attack was ever possible and imminent. Still it maintained its peace for a year and nine months after the imperialists launched their struggle. To the "I-told-you-so" chorus, the Soviets can reply that the time intervening has been of immense benefit, that the Red Army has gained in strength and strategic position as a result. It can reply that it profited by the opportunity to observe and study tactics and methods of the German war machine, that it learned much of value.

Aside from these facts, what more has the Soviet to its credit? It is worth remembering the days following the invasion of Poland. The resort to war did not mean that Chamberlain and Daladier foreswore all ambition of bringing Germany to turn against the USSR. They still saw prospects of a German sweep through Poland arriving at the borders of the Soviet Union; then Hitler could presumably be persuaded to continue his aggression in that direction. Polish resistance, however, crumbled within a month. The Soviet Union acted with decision. The Red Army moved quickly into eastern Poland, bringing liberation from Nazism to workers and peasants, halting the German advance, and wrecking the British and French schemes.

Thereupon, to protect its peace, the Soviets offered mutual assistance pacts to Baltic neighbors. Only Finland, outpost of the English and German ruling class, proved recalcitrant, unwilling to cooperate with the other Baltic countries for mutual protection. For even after the Polish debacle, Great Britain anxiously sought means to unite capitalism against socialism. The Finnish ruling class was an ideal implement, controlled as it was mainly by the British, willing to play the dangerous game.

Arms poured into Finland, which began to indulge in a series of provocations directed against the USSR. At this point, the Soviets took stern measures. Their army suppressed the Finnish white guards. The danger to the strategic city of Leningrad was pushed back; the Soviet gained command of entrances to the Baltic, the Mannerheim line, stronghold for an aggressive attack on the USSR, was demolished. As a result of Finland's collapse, the 23,000,000 people of Lithuania, Esthonia, and Latvia threw over their ruling class and joined the free republics of socialism.

As the German military machine overran southern Europe, the Soviet Union closely watched the predatory advance, protecting the province of Bessarabia from German seizure, and improving its defensive position while freeing the workers and peasants and providing refuge for the persecuted Jewish people. It encouraged the just struggle of the Yugoslav people against aggression, warning Germany sternly when that nation marched into Bulgaria. It helped preserve the neutrality of the Turkish people. By its show of strength, its consistent aid to the Chinese people's fight for democracy, it forced Japan to come to terms, to enter a friendship pact of neutrality in the Far East.

Now the Soviet Union has been invaded. The danger that the attempt will be made to resolve the present battle among the imperialists into a concerted attack on the USSR is only too clear. But this consummation, so desirable to the capitalist world, is far harder to achieve today than it would have been in 1939. Capitalism does not strengthen itself in war. It has been fighting for over a year and a half, and the crisis that plagues the imperialist world is sharper than ever before. The Soviet Union, free of crisis, has improved its position greatly. It would be the height of folly to believe that the Soviet Union is faced with an easy task, that it is not endangered. But with its unity, with the support it commands among all peoples, with its armed forces, and its socialist production, the Soviet Union will prove its invincibility. Those who chatter happily that the Soviet's peace policy has not managed to avert the aggression of fascism only too clearly exhibit their wish that socialism be impaled. But the obscene expectation will not be fulfilled. Seven years ago, Stalin declared:

"Those who attempt to attack our country will receive a devastating rebuff, in order to teach them not to thrust their pigs' snouts into the Soviet garden."

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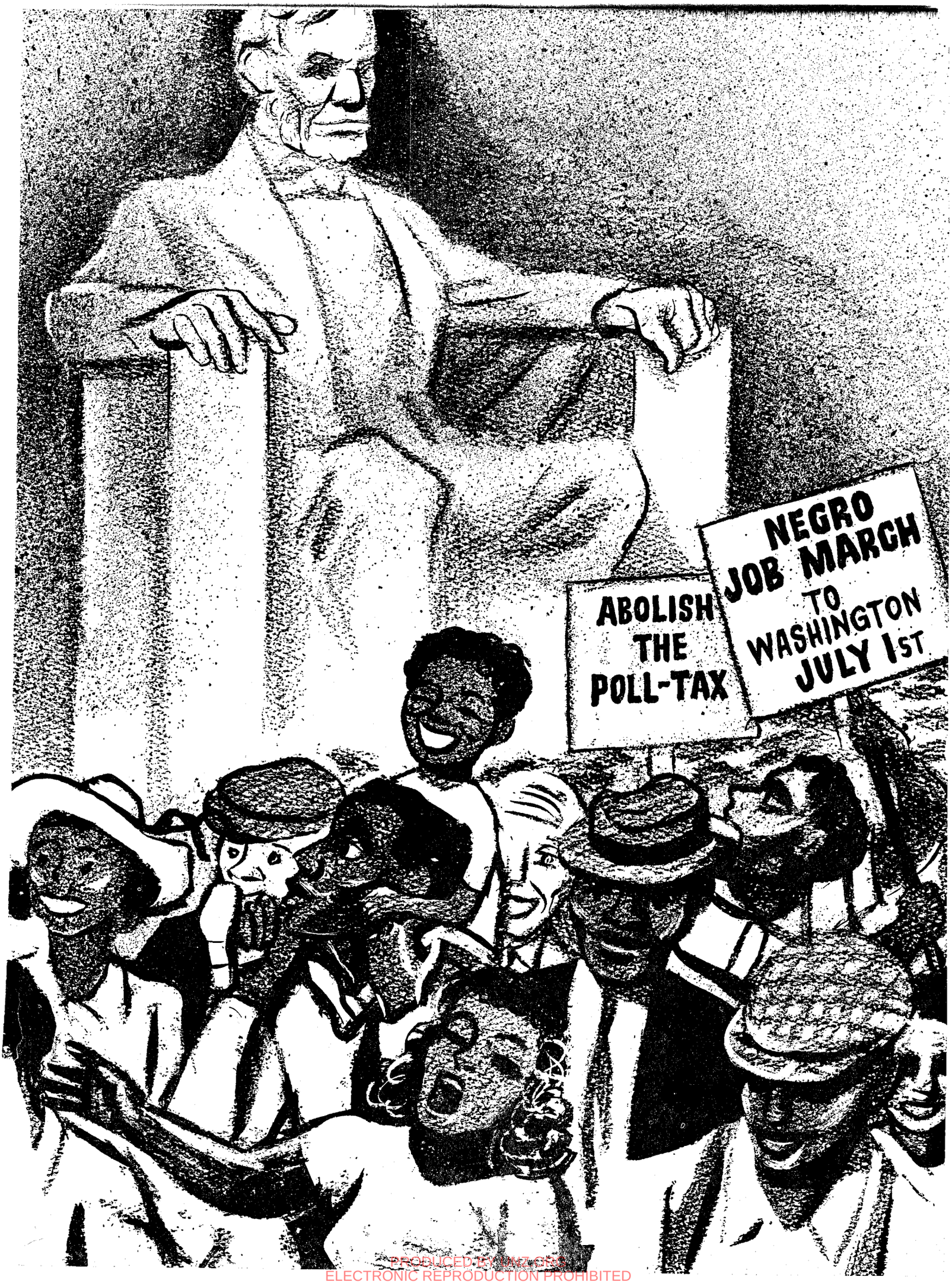

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

ON A QUIET SUNDAY

LIKE so many other Americans, we put the kids to bed Saturday night with a loud, firm statement: "Don't wake up Daddy and Mommy tomorrow morning. Otherwise comes no ice cream for Sunday dinner."

Our young ones were up, as usual, at the crack of dawn. With my eyelids clamped down hard, and my voice husky, I roared: "Stop that noise! Daddy wants to sleep! Have consideration! It's the only morning in the week." . . .

The toy train came to an abrupt stop. Somewhere, in my dreams, I heard Paddy stage-whispering to Tommy: "You be quiet, you naughty boy!" And Tommy replying indignantly: "Who, me?" About an hour later, Polly, our dog, began to bark. My husband emitted a deep groan. Paddy shouted, "Polly! You naughty dog! You be. . . ."

Then we slept again. At 8:45 AM the telephone began to ring. And ring. And ring. I staggered out of bed, catching in one lovely glimpse our garden shining in the hot morning sun, our kids peacefully wading in our little brook, our dog snoozing in the shade of the big elm tree.

"Hello!" I barked, suppressing the inclination to shout, "Whoever you are, must you call up early Sunday mornings?"

And George said, very simply, "Get up and turn on your radio. Hitler has declared war on the Soviet Union."

This piece is written Sunday afternoon, between broadcasts, to make the NEW MASSES press deadline. There is no military information, as yet, and even if there were, I am no amateur general. At 8:45 AM this lovely Sunday in June, I learned with a sense of terrible shock, that the Soviet Union, the beautiful workers' fatherland, the fortress of socialism, has at long last, after twenty-four years' struggle for peace, been attacked by rampant fascism. The conflict between hope and death has finally entered its military phase. We who understand Marxist dialectics know that capitalist production is doomed by its own contradictions; we have positive knowledge that in this struggle for the future of the world, socialism can never be defeated.

But the fight may be long and bitter. The Soviet Union now faces the ravaging armies of fascism: armies, we must never forget, that were born in London banks, expanded on the Paris bourse, armed in Wall Street, given their first fruits of victory by the Tories everywhere. To underestimate Hitler is to say that fascism, rotten to the core, will not strike out against the future. Communists know better. Like a desperate, frantic rattlesnake, Hitlerism will now exert every last atom of its dying strength. The Soviet Union, cradle of the new world, must now, in its infancy, bear the brunt of the rattlesnake's death struggle. The fight is on; we may know its final outcome, but we cannot guess its duration, its ferocity, its violence.

But we who fight for socialism have the winning weapon. The Soviet Union does not fight alone. The Red Army marches side by side with the working class of the world. Every Soviet soldier goes into battle blessed by the passionate hopes of the tortured and the oppressed. Every Soviet commander, when he gives the order to advance, knows that the hungry and the weary of the whole world hear his words and stand waiting for his victory. Hitler does not only face the organized might of the Soviet people. Imperialism has not attacked merely one-sixth of the earth's surface. In every mine, in every factory, in the sweatshops of Shanghai, in the co-ops of North China, in the prison workshops of Japan, in the great reaches of America's industrial valley, in the bright glow of the Alsace steel sheds, in the dark of the Berlin subways, in farthest regions of hunger-tortured India, in the soggy galleries of the Welsh coal mines, in the hammering noise of the Manchester tank works—EVERYWHERE, the Red Army soldiers have their comrades.

For the Soviet Army marches to no imperialist war. It seeks no conquest over the piteous slaves of a monstrous government. The Red Army fights to liberate the captives of the dying old world. The Soviet soldiers do not fight for oil wells or for sea canals. The army of a hundred nationalities seeks not to imprison, or to keep enchained the wretched serfs or lost hopes. For twenty-four years the Communist leaders of the largest nation on earth have promised never to use arms except in defense of socialism. They have kept that promise. Now the world shall see how Communists defend themselves.

None of us heard Sunday's radio announcement without sorrow. The Soviet Union attacked! Yet now that the conflict is upon us, now that the Nazis have unfolded their ancient promise of terror, the advanced workers and their allies throughout the world face the battle calmly, with perfect confidence. For we know what kind of army marches today, we know what sort of nation takes up its weapons to face the future. Now, in this hour of crisis, we hear the history of the Soviet Union ringing in our ears, filling our hearts with hope and love.

Think of the story of the Soviet Union. Remember Lenin in October, his first thought for the people: peace, bread, land. Remember Chapayev, the terrible days of the intervention, with the whole capitalist world aligned against the infant Soviet Republic. Ah, the heroes of the old days live again on this Sunday in June. The sailors from Kronstadt, the simple peasants of the Ukraine, fighting with their bare hands against the aviation and the artillery of the oppressor. Only think, only remember, the people of the Soviet Union died to make their country free.

And then the wonderful days of the peace. Wage slavery abolished. The ancient, timeless hunger of the peasant ended forever with the collectivization of the land, a revolution without precedent in human history, a titanic struggle brought to victory, with Stalin leading the people. The hard, hard days of hunger and poverty throughout the twenties, passing at long last into the winning of socialism and the new constitution of 1936. Remember today, remember this week, the story of human liberation inside the Soviet Union. Remember, if you happen to be a Jew, the emancipation of your people. Think, if you are a Negro, of the Stalinist program, carried to brilliant achievement, for the absolute freedom and progress of all nationalities within the borders of the Soviet Republics. Remember, if you are a woman chained to the drudgery of the household, tortured by fears for your children, remember the victory of women under socialism.

Yes, think of the Soviet Union. Men can see now the best champion, not only of socialism, but of peace, liberty, and democracy. Remember that on the fate of the Red Army hangs the happiness of the whole world.

Ah, it is hard to put into words this fateful Sunday of June 1941, the emotion with which we all greet the advancing regiments of the greatest army in history. We in America turn promptly to our fight: to keep Wall Street from imperialist intervention, to lead the American working class to peace, to broad advances, to friendship with the socialist peoples. No one of us can expect that the next months or even years will be easy ones. In the imperialist stronghold the battle will be fierce and terrible.

But in all the difficulties of the years ahea of us, we have one hope, one faith. As w turn now to our bitter struggle with rea tion, we have the deathless promise of t future to comfort us, to sustain us.

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WHIPPING LABOR IN CONGRESS

Three "experts" and a poll-tax congressman offer a strikebreaking bill. The strange story of an executive order. John L. Lewis behind the scenes.

Washington.

REPRESENTATIVE VINSON of Georgia was pretty confident that his compulsory mediation bill would find smooth sailing after he had called in the administration's "labor experts" to iron out the rough spots. Sidney Hillman himself applied his skilled hand to revising the measure. William H. Davis of the Mediation Board, Chairman Harry A. Millis of the Labor Board, and Dan Tracy of the AFL electrician's union and Assistant Secretary of Labor, were also called in. But Hillman was easily the kingpin in Vinson's new group of advisers. To Vinson and the other Southern poll-taxers, Hillman is still something of a dangerous radical. And so it seemed to Vinson that there would be no opposition from the small group of pro-labor congressmen in the House nor even from the labor movement itself. He expected them all to fall in line.

In a flurry of enthusiasm, Vinson called a conference of CIO and AFL representatives only to discover that opposition to his bill was still unanimous. Davis, Millis, and Tracy, who were at the meeting in Vinson's office, maintained an embarrassed silence. But the labor spokesmen were pretty articulate. CIO secretary James Carey presented Vinson with a strongly worded statement by Philip Murray. Bill Green and George Meany of the AFL also spoke up in their own fashion. They were against any kind of cooling-off period. Even five minutes would be too much.

Finally Vinson announced angrily that he expected to see the President either that afternoon or the next morning, and would inform him that labor refused to support his fine, moderate, new bill on which administration officials had labored so hard. One of the CIO representatives replied: "You can tell the President, Mr. Vinson, that you have succeeded in doing what he has so long publicly advocated. On the issue of your bill you have succeeded in bringing about labor unity." Meany laughed. Bill Green's face purpled. And he exclaimed: "Unity like that between the Pope of Rome and the Ku Klux Klan."

BILL GREEN may not like it but the fact is that the rank and file of the entire trade union movement is fast coming into conflict with the administration's latest efforts to curb labor's right to strike. These efforts have now reached the stage where legislative shackles to bind the unions are being forged by administration officials. At this stage even Bill Green is forced to speak up reluctantly in opposition to anti-strike legislation.

At first the President apparently hoped that the labor movement could be induced "voluntarily" to surrender its rights. That, of course, was the reason for Sidney Hillman's honorific titles and for his frequent luncheons at the White House. That was the reason for the creation of Hillman's Labor Policy Advisory Committee consisting of sixteen hand-picked AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhood leaders. Sidney Hillman and Bill Green were supposed to persuade the labor movement not to press for higher wages, not to go on strike. It will be recalled that the first joint statement by Knudsen and Hillman when they were appointed as heads of OPM urged labor to "sacrifice."

But it didn't work. Labor has made tremendous strides during the past six months. Steel workers, maritime workers, electrical workers won substantial wage increases. The miners went on strike and succeeded in eliminating the Southern differential. There was an irrepressible conflict which all the statements in the world by Sidney Hillman or Green could cover up. Prices skyrocketed, and so did profits. Labor had to fight for higher wages or take a cut in its real earning power.

Some weeks ago the mailed fist behind the administration's program of "voluntary" coercion began to appear. That was when Secretary of the Navy Knox along with Knudsen served his famous ultimatum on the Allis-Chalmers strikers. This ultimatum was also unsuccessful. It became obvious that Hillman and Green were not delivering the goods, not even when backed by threats from Knox and Knudsen. Then finally came the great crackdown shortly after the President's proclamation of a full national emergency. There were the Mediation Board ultimatums to the woodworkers and to the North American strikers. There was the work or fight order issued by General Hershey and there was the use of troops against the North American strikers at Inglewood.

THE CONNALLY BILL, which gave legislative status to the use of troops by the President in Inglewood or any other strike, passed the Senate with but seven votes in opposition. The fears of Senator Vandenberg and the *Wall Street Journal* that this measure might conceivably lead to "nationalization" of industry were quickly allayed when the Senate adopted an amendment which assured the return to its owners of any plant taken over by the Army as soon as the President found that normal production had been restored. Senator Byrnes, who will now wear the black robes of the Supreme Court, informed reporters that the language of this amendment was identical with that of the President's executive order. Byrnes added that the suggestion for the language in the executive order came from none other than G. H. Kindelberger, president of the North American Aviation Corp. Apparently the die-hard tories on the House Military Affairs Committee felt that Kindelberger was not quite competent to protect his own property. They revised the Connally bill and restricted the use of troops completely to the functions of strikebreaking and union-busting. There was also added in the House version of the bill an amendment which made picketing, particularly mass picketing, a crime equivalent to sabotage punishable by five years in jail.

The Vinson bill, which had at first been held up in the House, leaped into prominence again. The difference this time was that Vinson had every assurance of administration support. For the first time the administration went formally on record in favor of compulsory arbitration when majority leader John McCormack supported amendments to the $10,000,000,000 military appropriation bill denying any funds from the measure to strikers who had refused to abide by Mediation Board decisions.

Perhaps most significant of all is the proposed plan to deprive unions which are under "subversive,"—progressive or left-wing—leadership, of their collective bargaining rights under the Wagner act. The Department of Justice is said to be drafting Wagner act amendments to this effect. At Inglewood the administration is already putting into practice the principle of official selection of collective bargaining agents for the workers. The Mediation Board has refused to deal with the duly elected officials of the North American workers. It will bargain only with the burly, none-too-bright strikebreaker, Richard Frankensteen.

The importance of this development cannot be over-emphasized. It means the reversal of everything the Wagner act ever stood for. Workers would no longer be able to choose their own union leaders. Official bargaining agencies would be selected by the administration. The trade union movement would in effect be converted into an official labor front after the Nazi model.

IN ALL THIS Sidney Hillman has been extremely active. Apparently he would not be averse to becoming the American counterpart of Germany's Dr. Ley. Hillman helped to write the executive order breaking the Inglewood strike, and hastily endorsed the President's action afterwards. He has been involved in revising the Vinson bill. He is showing keen interest in the writing of Wagner act amendments to bar "subversive" elements from official recognition. Hillman is getting set for the day when such amendments will be put into effect. With the aid of his office staff, he has carefully revised the master Dies committee list of 150 al-

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leged Communist leaders in the labor movement. He graciously consented to clear twenty-seven of suspicion. The list of 123 remaining names has been circulated by Hillman among government agencies and newspapermen. Hillman's office has become the chief clearing house for gossip and slander against the progressive labor movement.

An all-out war against the labor movement was thus the first fruit of the President's national emergency. Apparently the President felt that peace sentiment was strongest among the trade unions, that the trade union movement had to be smashed as a prelude for active involvement in the war.

Bill Green and the other AFL leaders could hardly restrain their I-told-you-so jubilation. They proclaimed that it was all the fault of the Communists in the CIO. The Communists had provoked the President into using troops. Even in the top leadership of the CIO itself there was plenty of confusion at first. Phil Murray hesitated. In urging the woodworkers and the North American strikers to go back to work he bowed to White House pressure. For the rest he maintained silence for several days.

BUT there was little hesitation among the rank and file of the CIO, and among hundreds of leaders of local and international unions. Telegrams, letters, and phone calls poured in on Murray demanding action, protest against the President's strikebreaking moves. Finally Murray came through with two significant statements which enormously strengthened the forces which were fighting for labor's rights. In a letter to all CIO unions he attacked the use of troops, the Hershey work or fight order, and the deluge of anti-labor legislation. In a second letter he repudiated the rumors of a drastic CIO purge. He made it plain that he had no intentions of following Hillman's cue in precipitating a disastrous split in the CIO. Both of Murray's statements, which must of course be implemented by further action, represent a setback for the Hillman forces in the CIO.

John L. Lewis issued no public statements under his own name. But as chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League he was responsible for the powerful LNPL statement which rallied labor support throughout the country. This statement drove to the very heart of the situation when it charged that the administration was now sponsoring legislation "that advances far along the path of totalitarian forced labor." LNPL has also been active in sponsoring a mass lobby of CIO leaders against all pending anti-labor legislation. Lewis' associates state that he did not speak up more directly because of his determination to avoid any break with Murray. But Lewis was extremely active behind the scenes in discussions with Murray and other CIO leaders and in speeches to the Mine Policy Committee, which was then in session, urging strong protest against the President's moves.

It is now clear that the President's frontal attack on the labor movement was no more successful than the earlier flank attacks which were executed by the Hillmans and the Greens. The labor movement was not demoralized. Murray was not frightened into splitting with substantial portions of CIO members and leaders. Martial law may still be in effect at Inglewood, but it is apparent that the ranks of the United Automobile Workers local were not smashed and that the workers went back in united, disciplined fashion. At the peak of the White House-inspired hysteria the aluminum workers in Cleveland succeeded in wresting substantial gains. The UAW came through with a magnificent Ford contract which succeeded in establishing the best conditions in the industry. It is understood that the mine workers will very soon force a satisfactory contract out of the Southern operators. There are even rumors that Bethlehem and Republic Steel as well as the other "little steel" companies may at last be forced to sign on the dotted line with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The drive on labor has not subsided, of course. Particularly on the legislative front the danger is still extremely acute. But there has been no rout or even a retreat in the ranks of the trade unions. One of the first immediate effects of the anti-labor attack has been to create mass disillusionment with the administration on the part of hundreds of thousands of workers who clung to their illusions about the President. The Roosevelt blitzkrieg against labor has fallen far short of its objectives.

ADAM LAPIN.

Spoken for Many Mouths

America grew in me with my years:
I had its cities for my first toys,
Its vast prairie-acres of stars
For my dreams' first plowing. My mother's hand
Would wake me in the cold dusk
Of an Illinois morning, and in the gold hollow
Of light scooped in the dark by a lantern's tongue
Of flame I'd see my father loading the tools
Of his work and our living into the old car;
And that evening our campfire's alchemy
Would make several yards of Missouri
A familiar and friendly biding-place . . .

I learned America as a child learns a thing he loves,
With laughter and wonder and the keen-felt joy
Of personal discovery: when I was six
I saw the white mountains of Colorado
And the great red yawn of its canyons:
Saw the white fury of blizzards,
Felt the scorching kiss of Kansas when I was seven;
Remember the great muddy movement
Of the Mississippi, crossed again and again;
Knew the first sweet ache of manhood in Texas:—

My years and my memory are rooted in this deep soil,
My life is the hardy product of this nurture.
My father's hands are calloused from swinging the tools
That built this nation, my mother's breast
Has nourished with goodness its future.
I inherited this land as I did the blood in me,
And with the forces that made me I'll take it.

TROY GARRISON.

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SHARPEN UP THE ARROWS

The social base for a resurgent proletarian literature. Lethargy, Miss Millay, and Mr. Berle. The lessons of ten years and the temper of a generation of writers.

ONCE it was pie in the sky; now it is strawberries under the snow. In her *Make Bright the Arrows,* a collection of doggerels for defense, Edna Millay writes, with throbbing compassion:

> . . . poor child, being under-fed, confused and frail;
> I pity you; I hope you will find, as in the fairy-tale,
> Strawberries under the snow.

Fairy tales no doubt have their place in the diet of the imagination, but the rumor is as yet unconfirmed that they fill the bellies of hungry children. In any case, the snow has melted since Miss Millay published her Christmas carol, the strawberries have been miraculously transported by a wizard to the counters of the A&P, and the price has gone up about twenty percent.

To which tale of prosaic woe Miss Millay has a snappy reply:

> All this forgotten or deferred
> At least until there's time for strife.

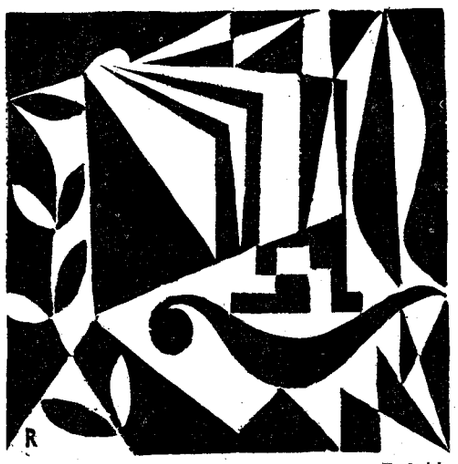
We must forget the Joads and defer their demand for higher wages. There is no time for strife because we must go to war. And war is not strife, as the naughty goblins try to tell us, but a national outing in quest of strawberries under the snow.

This forget-and-defer philosophy is the direct opposite of the mood which prevailed at the recent Congress of American Writers. Everybody there was doing a lot of remembering and anticipating. I do not wish, at the moment, to speak in detail about the congress. I want rather to emphasize the essential spirit of honest and courageous and confident realism which gave the congress its distinctive character. Here was a group of writers determined, above all else, to create a truthful literature. One recalled, by contrast, a recent speech of Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr., in which he discussed some of the things "an intellectual is hired for." Mr. Berle cited Horatio Alger as an example of a writer who "was fulfilling one part of his obligation towards his job—and the positive part." The Writers Congress unequivocally rejected the Horatio Alger role and the fairy tale role which the Berles and Millays would like to assign American authors today.

And this decision to carry on the realistic social writing of the thirties reflected more than a desire to keep faith with one's past. More deeply, it expressed an awareness that the future, the immediate future, of American writing is at stake. There was not the slightest disposition to feel that we are entering a literary slack season, a kind of interim period in which truth might just as well be sacrificed to expediency. On the contrary, the dominant note of the sessions was that it is now—and precisely now—incumbent on progressive writers to produce better work than ever before. The atmosphere was that of a renascence, of a rediscovery of one's allegiances and purposes. At no previous congress did one get such a clear sense of people knowing exactly in which direction they were heading.

The spontaneous enthusiasm generated by this large gathering of writers leads one to ask: Is it too much to hope that, despite all difficulties, proletarian literature, literature written from the point of view of the working class though not exclusively about the working class, is entering a new and even more fruitful period in this country? This is a large question, and we cannot answer it glibly. For the answer is contingent upon a number of circumstances, principally two.

Whether we are to have an upsurge in proletarian writing depends, in the first place, upon the fate of the working class itself. There can be no doubt that the renascence of social writing in the past decade would have been impossible without the tremendous advances made by the labor movement. The thirties witnessed the birth of the CIO, the growth of unemployed councils, the rise of political pressure by the masses which succeeded in effecting progressive legislation under the New Deal. And the heightened consciousness of the masses, their growing solidarity, the vigor and success of their struggles for a better America, prepared the social base for works like *Black Pit* or *Waiting for Lefty, The Grapes of Wrath* or *Native Son.* The maturing of our literature reflected the maturing of the American people as a whole. The process was of course, in some measure, a reciprocal one. The writers learned from the masses, but in giving artistic expression to the ideas and moods they were learning, writers helped to organize consciousness. And a careful study of the thirties will show that the degree of fidelity to popular experience and feeling largely determined the degree to which a writer, given the necessary qualifications of talent, achieved any permanent stature.



Frederick

In the same way, if one believes that the labor movement will be decisively crushed by the administration's edicts and troops, then the outlook for proletarian literature is not bright. For under fascism honest books do not get printed, and their potential authors are not exactly encouraged to write. Under fascism, proletarian literature, if not dead, is nevertheless buried. And who can doubt that the crushing of the labor movement is indeed the first and most recognizable sign of fascism?

If, on the other hand, one believes that American workers and farmers and their friends in the middle classes will keep fighting for human progress, whatever their momentary setbacks, then there is hope not only for the survival but even for the enrichment of proletarian literature. There will be no retrogression, as the enemies of labor well know. Their urgent efforts to stifle labor is the best assurance that the common people of this country are in no mood either to forget or defer. And this ever increasing knowledge and militancy would again provide the social base for a resurgent proletarian literature.

These are the alternatives in the immediate future, and the struggle between them is being recorded, albeit in hideously garbled form, in every morning's newspaper.

WHICH of these alternatives will prevail? Some people have a quick answer. Looking at only one side of the picture, they are overwhelmed by the force of reaction's attack. "Let us be realistic," they say. "Let us recognize that fascism will triumph here as surely as it did in Germany; for the time being we're licked." Well, let us be realistic by all means. Certainly the force of reaction is great. One would have to dwell in cuckoo-cloudland to deny the power of the concentrated fascist offensive that has been launched against American labor. We have seen steel bayonets planted in the bodies of striking American working men, steel bayonets for which we are being taxed in the name of defense. But every day witnesses another reality. The essential characteristic of our time escapes the notice of our "realist." And that is the rapidly grow-

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ing consciousness on the worker's part of his human and democratic rights, his understanding of the reactionary forces against which he is pitted, his knowledge that the historic conditions for his self-emancipation have matured, and his intensifying determination to triumph. Bayonets may for a brief and illusory moment prevail, but Ma Joad keeps on saying: "We're the people that live. They ain't gonna wipe us out. Why, we're the people—we go on." For every one maimed by a savage thrust, a hundred rise in defiance.

So far as labor is concerned, then, there will be no forgetting and no deferring. The second principal condition on which the quickening of proletarian literature depends is the readiness of writers themselves to build and exert their talents. The danger, clearly, is not that the laboring people of America will lag behind the writers but the reverse. The Writers Congress was a tremendous assertion on the part of a large body of American authors that they were not in a mood to lag behind. But this assertion, splendid as it was, will mean little in the long run unless it expresses itself in plays and poems and stories and articles in the fateful days ahead. That the artistic embodiment of this assertion will actually be forthcoming is a fact, quite frankly, of which I have less doubt today than a month ago. For in getting together with writers to hear their plans, one learned with gratification that authors were more ambitious to create sound and beautiful and stirring work than they were two years ago, when the going seemed smoother. Lethargy is the greatest enemy of literature, and of lethargy there was no sign.

Proletarian writers, like the labor movement as a whole, have learned from their experiences and profited from their mistakes. There is an enormous difference in sheer intellectual equipment between progressive writers of 1931 and of 1941. Ten years ago a number of middle class writers were only beginning to be conscious of the working class. The crash of 1929 had jarred them out of their indifference. They were groping toward a new and more satisfactory point of view. Their knowledge of Marxism was in a few cases spotty, and in most cases simply nonexistent. In that first flush of pride in having something at last which was more permanent than a publisher's advance, some of them became ultra-revolutionaires, ready to knock down capitalism with the easy abandon with which they had previously slain inconsequential individuals in an epigram. Some of them carried over into their radical attitudinizing all the pettiness which had formerly characterized their "why give a damn" attitudinizing. Some of them crept back to where they came from. But at the same time, and in the main flow of the proletarian movement, middle class and working class writers alike were truly finding themselves, deepening their insights, enriching their art, cementing their knowledge of history. And these writers, constituting the overwhelming majority, enter the new decade with steadier heads and stouter hearts.

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I hesitate to make the comparison, but it serves a purpose. Waldo Frank's publishers announce his forthcoming book: "This story of a middle-aged Wall Street lawyer who suddenly turns back to a pursuit of the liberal ideas of his youth has deep meaning for today." And Richard Wright's publishers announce his forthcoming book, *12,000,000 Black Voices,* a non-fiction work to be followed by a novel dealing with Negro domestic workers in New York: "The struggles and aspirations of his people made graphic and human." Much of what I have been trying to say is compressed in those two announcements.

And in the meantime, a host of young writers, like Richard Wright, has grown up within the proletarian movement itself. These writers, many of them, are only now beginning to find their voices, voices which do not quaver with confusion or quake with fear. Does any one suppose that *they* are going to go searching for strawberries under the snow? I, for one, do not. I believe that a stronger and healthier literature is in the making. I believe that young Alexander Bergman expressed the temper of a whole generation when he wrote:

> Despite deliberate darkness
> spread upon the land—awakening!

This awakening is producing a great literature. What some of its problems and purposes are we should all be discussing with deep and earnest interest. I hope that many writers and readers will join me in such a discussion through the pages of NEW MASSES.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Neighborhood Scene

SOMETHING OF A HERO, *by I. J. Kapstein. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.*

THIS book is a chronicle of many lives in a small American city during the years 1907, 1917, 1919, and 1929. And it is Mr. Kapstein's ambitious task to interpret these lives in the light of the American dream of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Yet for this piece of work, a forthright vision is required. In this hour when "the democratic ideal" is a phrase in the mouth of the most reactionary, it is important to use the words carefully—with the justness, the vigor, the knowledge of the needs of the people with which they were originally used in 1776. If a writer presumes to manipulate these well-worn stops, no penny-arcade conceptions of human struggle will sustain him. For all his careful realism, multiplicity of character, the story may move like a wax-works show.

The protagonist of *Something of a Hero* is an abstract "common citizen" who in Santayana's phrase must be "something of a saint and something of a hero" if democracy is to survive. Kapstein selects a neighborhood gang as the conventional miniature of urban democracy—with its Negro, Jewish, Irish, Italian, German, older-stock Americans. They grow up, marry, experience war, prohibition,

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and the depression. They all hold America to her promise. They want to be "free." Some, the most meaningful of them, discover that there is no real freedom because of the nature of our society. This conclusion might be made a good deal clearer, however, especially in the last episode of the book which describes a strike in the city's principal iron works. But Kapstein has preferred to balance his sets of conclusions symmetrically. Thus Joe Cascione thinks money will make him free—lots of it—gotten anyhow—and he becomes a bootlegger. Eddie Mundy learns from his father's failure as a farmer that you have to grab and take—and he becomes a shyster lawyer. Indie Whipple, the Negro, is a peculiar figure. He yearns for an island remote from the world of race hatred and he fights in the ring to purchase such a haven of freedom. But Dave Bandler discovers that even being a doctor will not free him from the handicap of being a Jew. In this strike we have mentioned, he discovers as he tends the wounded strikers—"If they need me, I need them." And Louie Davis, terrified by the danger of losing his job, finally grasps the fundamental truth—that men "have got to stick together"—when he joins the picket line. And Amby Tait who had been a stool-pigeon during the Palmer raids, regains his manhood when his fellow workers are able to trust him for the first time again. These characters are perhaps too schematically contrived and yet we feel that the author has succeeded at this point in emphasizing that democracy is the solidarity of the "common citizen."

Unfortunately the dominant constiuent of this novel lies in another quarter. Chief spokesman for the author is John Cantrell, member of a patrician ruling class family, amateur historian of the town, whose daughter is married to a prominent political boss. From John's speculations the novel derives its tone of shallow optimism—altogether on the level of a grade-school assembly exercise. We find it difficult to believe that this banker will die with this juvenile message—that this veteran of Antietam who has seen his best friend murdered for trying to start a union, will sum up the book with so empty a final phrase as "All . . . men . . . are . . . you."

For 600 pages Kapstein has sought an answer to the question—"What is the meaning of democracy today?" and he has preferred to muffle and weaken the obvious reply that only the people, the working class, can make the Declaration of Independence come alive again. It is hard to imagine that the incoherent visionary Marius Schaeffer is the sole representative of socialism in this city. More seriously evasive is the author's treatment of the war years during which no voice but Schaeffer's shouts that war is mass murder. And so no single clear message remains—rather many messages and many voices, prudently counterbalanced in a moral antinomy. Perhaps this is why this novel seems so lacking in dramatic tension, so flabby in the writing itself.

MILLICENT LANG.

Scholarship and Insight

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, *Spring 1941, vol. 5, no. 2. 30 E. 20th Street, New York City.*

THE current issue of *Science and Society* includes four major articles on vital subjects of contemporary and historical interest. Each of these articles maintains the high level of scholarly competence and social insight which all readers of this publication have come to expect as a matter of course.

Samuel Putnam's "Vargas Dictatorship in Brazil" is a stimulating inquiry into the regime which Getulio Vargas set up by his *coup d'etat* of Nov. 10, 1937. Is it simply another "military dictatorship"? Is Vargas an old-school dictator? Or is Brazil a fascist state of the modern type? Mr. Putnam, whose contributions to Latin-American studies have frequently appeared in NEW MASSES, answers that Brazil is today suffering under a semi-colonial type of fascism; that is to say, the finance capitalists who in reality exercise the dictatorship are not native but foreign. It is as yet an unstable and as yet unconsolidated fascism which was in good part established and supported by the United States. The specific features of this fascism are analyzed, and its tie-up with developments in this country is suggested. The article opens up a whole area of research in contemporary imperialist relations.

"The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement" is the second of two articles by Herbert Aptheker. It embodies the usual virtues of Mr. Aptheker's writings on Negro history: painstaking research in original materials, a fresh point of view, and a vigorous insistence on the Negro's *own* contribution to his emancipation from slavery. The myth that the Abolitionist movement was a "philanthropic" venture conducted solely by white men is shattered by the documentary evidence cited by the author. He stresses the cohesiveness, discipline, and organization of the struggle conducted by Negroes in conjunction with progressive white men and women to achieve freedom.

Samuel Bernstein adds another chapter to the history of French working class movements which he has been developing in *Science and Society* over the past few years. In "The Paris Commune" he shows that the workers' government of 1870 initiated labor and social changes of a practical character, reforms which constituted what Lenin once called "the minimum program of socialism." The historical significance of the Commune, its limitations and its strength, its display of heroism by the workers and brutal treachery by the bourgeoisie, may be read in this well-documented and incisive study.

In "Recent Literature of Race and Culture Contacts," Bernhard J. Stern examines trends and methods of anthropological study as revealed in twenty recent books in this field. This monumental omnibus review shows the relation between ethnological method and the attitude of the individual student toward contemporary issues. There is a particularly fruitful section on the war and recent studies in immigration and race.

If there is one criticism of the issue, it is that, like so many other issues of this splendid magazine, it fails to include an article which deals directly with a central phase of the world situation today. In view of the fact that *Science and Society* is a quarterly, the editors no doubt find it difficult, in a rapidly moving world, to editorialize on specific events. However, there are certain underlying problems which many readers would like to see discussed, such as the economic consequences of the "defense" program, the status of labor organization today, the character of German, British, and American imperialism, and the economic and social structure of Soviet socialism. A more central approach to these problems would gain even more prestige and influence for the magazine than it now possesses.

Science and Society has been moving in this direction. Certainly, its readers appreciate as never before the importance of its scientific treatment of materials which are being ignored or distorted by other scholarly publications under the impact of the crisis.

ARTHUR FOWLER.

CHILDREN'S ART

Paintings executed by children in the WPA art classes, from a recent exhibition held at the Associated American Artists Gallery in New York.

(left) MOUSE *by Sonia Gooz, age 9, a student in the WPA art class at Amalgamated Houses*

(right) PICKETS *by Rachel Powell, age 11*

(extreme right) DIVE BOMBER *by Victor Morando, a student at Hartley House*

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THE ARTIST AS FIGHTER

The artist is by his nature dedicated to life and to common humanity, Lynd Ward told the recent Artists and Writers Congress. No matter how dark the night . . .

I AM a worker in a field of art—the plastic and pictorial arts—whose complexity is immense and whose historical accumulation is probably greater, by reason of the comparative permanence of the materials in which we work, than that of other arts. While these circumstances produce points of difference, yet the vital problems that are common to all the arts—subject matter and form, audience and communicability, tradition and technical freedom—so far outweigh the special differences that may distinguish one art from another as to suggest that conclusions in one field may be more than half true for the others.

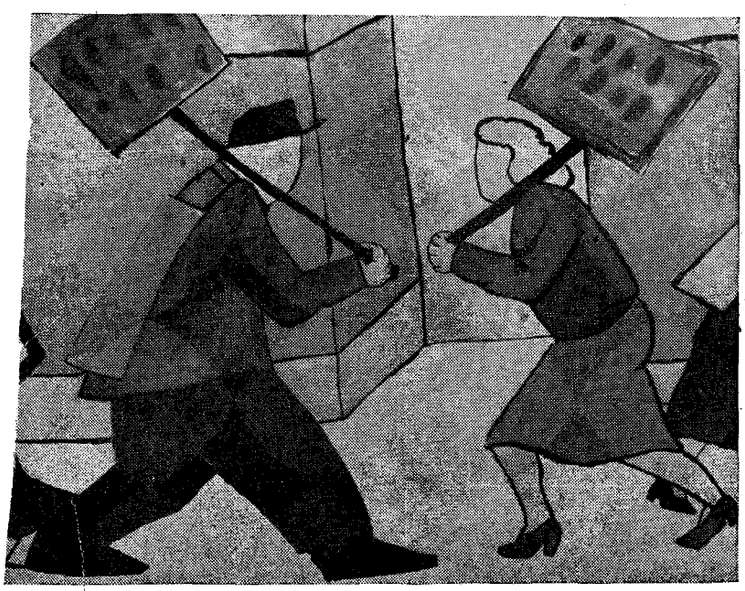
Our great accumulation of wall paintings, sculptures, carved arches and columns, oils, frescoes, tempera panels, prints, drawings, books, pamphlets, posters, decorated buildings, tombs, vases, painted boxes and carved implements of warfare, hunting or general utility provide us with certain advantages which writers or musicians or dramatists do not have. We can, for example, skip through 500 years of Greek art in no time at all and emerge with pretty definite ideas of what took place during those centuries in the way of changes in both form and subject matter. We can push back beyond the horizon of recorded history and tell you that primitive men living in caves in Southern France, of whose literature, drama and music we know nothing, placed on the handles of their weapons and on the walls of their domiciles the images of outstanding enemies and conspicuous friends—the animals whose attack they feared and the animals that provided them with sustenance. We can show you where artists have recorded military triumphs and the brutal execution of prisoners, have preserved for all posterity the features of saints, despots, and charlatans, have immortalized the casual byplay of peasants on a holiday and the agony of martyrs, have depicted with equal fervor the daily life in cloister, home, and brothel. We can note that meaningful art has sprung from the atmosphere and usages of both the public houses of the Yashiwara district of feudal Japan and the altars of mediaeval cathedrals.

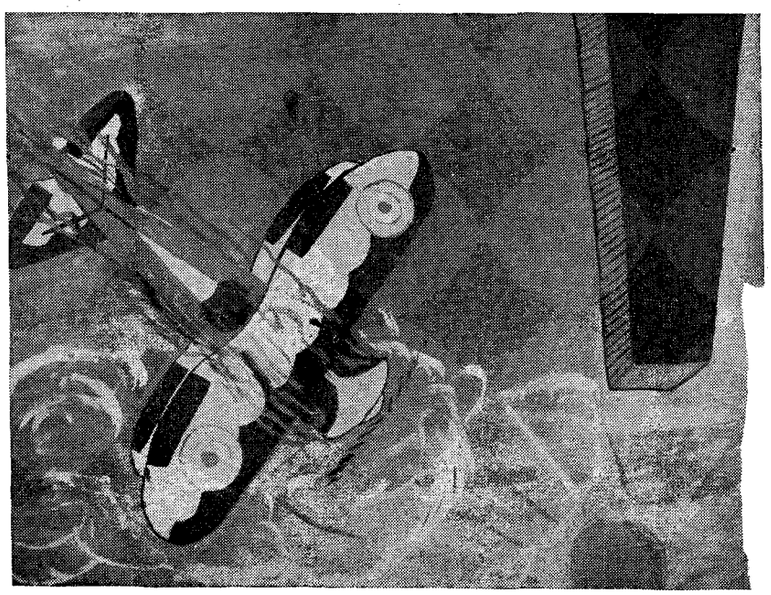
This very range of what we commonly call works of art, embracing in one form or another every race of human kind under the sun and running like a bright thread through the whole fabric of human history, has had a significant effect upon the growth of art. Because the evidence shows that the artist has existed in every conceivable variation of society, there are those who have drawn the conclusion that the artist exists outside the mundane areas in which the affairs of day-to-day life are carried on; that the form of political and economic organization of society is a matter of no concern to him—a passing show of which he is the observer at most; that art has a history and a development of its own—a thing apart to which the artist will accord his first allegiance and from which sensitive souls among the laity will derive what nourishment and satisfaction they will.

But while it is possible to erect elaborate structures of theory upon such a hypothesis of unconcern, it is not necessary to see in the great spread of art through time and space evidence of anything except the manifestation of a fundamental of the human spirit, an aspect of that spirit so profound in its motivation that it breaks through under the most diverse circumstances and despite the greatest variety of obstacles.

For it is clear now that regardless of the origin of the stream of human life—whether in prosaic stardust or the lyrical infinity of mathematics—some giant hand has scattered seeds of talent among the chromosomes of men. This talent has no special guardian angel; it is born blind and the direction it takes in its growth and the kind of thing it produces when it is grown are determined by the interplay of three factors—the society that surrounds it, the art inherited from earlier generations, and the "x" quantity of the individual himself who, in the multiplicity of human personality, reacts to these surrounding stimuli with a greater or lesser amount of the unpredictability that distinguishes all life.

Art has from the beginning demonstrated a tendency to impose laws, restrictions, limitations on young talent, directing with great thoroughness the precise paths along which it should go. In a static society, the traditions of art become very rigid and the amount of variation from the mold that is possible for the individual is very slight. An artist born in China in the tenth century was bound to produce work of a certain kind, with definite characteristics of drawing and composition. Were he born in Europe in the same century he would create pictures of a completely different character and the reasons for the differences would have nothing to do with his talent as an artist nor with any special interests of his profession. A hundred years —five generations—in Egyptian art are as





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nothing when it comes to variations in style and subject matter. The artist was the prisoner of the High Priest.

It is hard for modern artists who think of themselves as free to remember that the artist was the prisoner of the High Priests as long as his fellow men were prisoners. In all times and in all places the artist has been free only insofar as the minds of his fellow men have been free of the shackles of constricting dogma. The Renaissance in Europe, that great age that shines with so golden a glow in retrospect, was first and foremost the emergence into the sunlight of human intelligence. The church and empire that ruled the middle ages both as rigid ideas and as ruthless authorities could not forever withstand the curiosity, inventiveness, and self-confidence of the mind of man. Gunpowder and the mariner's compass were the instruments that brought about the enfeeblement of the feudal system, and the invention of printing and development of paper were the means of shattering the narrow mental barriers imposed by the high priests of mediaeval orthodoxy. In this movement of men's minds, printed pictures supplemented printed words. Artists, through the creation of images that gave vividness to the ideas of revolt against spiritual tyranny and corruption, helped to open the minds of their fellows and by that action broke through the traditions that had so long constricted their activities as artists. There is ample testimony that the Renaissance which resulted in so much art that is still meaningful today was a time not of ease and facile creation, but a struggle between the forces of progress and the party of established institutions, a period of stern responsibilities that compelled men to side with the new order or the old, and allowed no middle ground. Because artists believed in man and believed in the forces of progress, art as well as society moved forward.

IN THE YEARS that have followed, that vital relation between the artist and the dynamic forces in human society has become increasingly obscured by the complexity of social organization. Modern life has become distinguished by a multitude of compartments in which human affairs are conducted with a high degree of isolation. The businessman has moved in one sphere, the doctor in another, the scholar in a little world by himself, and the artist has found himself increasingly on the outside of all these walls. In the profit-motivation and pretentious hypocrisy of expanding industrialism and tentacled finance, the artist could find little in which to believe and a great deal to reject. The rejection is manifest in the bitter graphic work of a Daumier and the lack of a basis for belief resulted in the discovery that art itself provided a reason for existence. Freedom for the artist in both choice of subject matter and the technical form in which it is given existence came to constitute a goal to which artists could dedicate themselves.

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GOINGS ON

MARXISTS ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS, by Joseph Starobin, New Masses foreign editor, Workers School Faculty, June 29, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 East 13 Street, Admission 25 cents.

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of that intramural struggle and aspects of it are reflected in the fact that the esthetic liberation of painters like Manet and Degas was possible because they were men of independent means who had no need to resolve the contradiction between their work as artists and the rejection of that work by the society in which they lived; in the fact that when Cezanne received a military call to join the French army in 1870 he could simply turn his back on the authorities and, because his father was a banker, light out for the south of France and paint for the duration; in the further fact that those artists most sensitive to the values of life and most responsive to the impact of simple humanity, turned increasingly toward the depiction of still-life, of landscape, of the human figure in situations where references to the conditions of ordinary existence were either obliterated or limited to suggestions of irresponsible play or the enjoyment of food, drink, or effortless repose.

This resort to neutral subject matter was the reflection of the conviction of many artists that art was something beyond good and evil that could exist apart from the basic drives of society itself, and that freedom for the artist could be maintained in this rarefied esthetic atmosphere regardless of what convulsions shook the world.

For ten years now the course of events has been undermining the foundations of this conviction. It is plain enough today that art cannot exist apart from society, that even in the complex economic and political relationships of our own country, whatever art is supported by the dominant forces, either actively or passively, must perform a function in the ideological fabric that spreads so cunningly to enmesh the people of the country.

We have had for a number of years now the pretension of freedom for the artist. He has been told that he is free to stand in his studio and paint whatsoever on earth he chooses. But all this time very careful measures have been taken to see that at those points at which the work of artists comes in contact with the great masses of the people and unobtrusively molds their thinking—in murals, public monuments, government imprints on stamps, coins, currency, in exhibitions accorded the sanction of widespread official circulation, in the works selected by museums and promoted by galleries, in the images distributed by the millions of magazine covers, in newspapers, and on billboards, and more recently in the work commissioned by the agencies of direct government patronage—in all this, tremendous care has been taken to see that nothing suggests that all is not right with things as they are. An officially correct art has been consolidated that makes a mockery of the artist's freedom to paint without hindrance behind the closed doors of his studio.

Thus is the issue joined. We are come again to a moment in history when the forces of progress and the parties of established institutions meet in a struggle infinitely more

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complex and with more at stake than ever before.

The strongest weapon in the arsenal of reaction is that ideological fabric that has been so carefully woven about the minds of the people to keep them from seeing the truth. As institutions decay and increasingly fail to meet the human needs on which life depends, this ideological fabric rots through and tears begin to appear in it. When this happens, the parties of established institutions move swiftly to silence those who point out the rottenness of the fabric, and to employ camouflage artists to paint beautiful lies that will serve to cover up those points through which the truth can be glimpsed.

Here the interdependence of the artist and the forces of progress is again manifest. His fate is bound up with the fate of the people—his freedom is an integral part of their wider freedom. What has happened to artists in Germany, Spain, in France and England, and is increasingly happening to American artists as we move from latent to overt crisis, makes this clear beyond dispute. And if I may venture a personal opinion, there is no salvation for the artist as a creative worker except through the onward march of all men.

In the curious attributes of philosophers and writers through all history has been their disposition to erect within the covers of a book the skeleton of an ideal society which they call Utopia. It is significant that in more than one of these never-never lands the artist has ceased to exist—whatever function he performed in earlier societies, having been obviated by the attainment of the perfect life.

Artists, are, of course, unready to accept any such prognosis and I think we will agree in our turn that we can do without those who think in terms of Utopia. A step at a time is enough for us, and in any steps whose direction and whose implications we can see before us from the stage in history on which we stand there is a vital role for the artist to play.

The artist is by his nature dedicated to life and to the common humanity he senses in the men about him. Again and again through all history the artist has turned from the formal requirements of tradition and the dominant ideology of his time to search out and make permanent the universal qualities of the common man. This, as much as any metaphysical universality in esthetic qualities is what makes the art of diverse places and widely separated epochs of time intelligible and meaningful today. It presages the brotherhood of man and the artist feels it in his bones and in his basic urge for permanency in the materials with which he works and timelessness in the image he creates.

The highest good which results from the interplay between creative talent embodied in the individual artist and the environment is in his affirmation of what is vital and basically good in the life about him. This implies understanding as well as feeling and it is both understanding and feeling that the artist contributes to his fellow men. By his selection of material, by his emphasis and recreation of it in terms that disclose its significance the artist adds stature and dignity and richness and strength to the lives of his fellows. With these, no matter how dark the night, the forces of progress cannot fail.

LYND WARD.

Mr. Ward's article is his address given before the general session of the recent Writers and Artists Congress.

Tripe and Taylor

Also "She Knew . . ." and a Peter Lorre film.

IN THE feebler detective stories and the sillier newspapers, much has been made of a gadget called the lie detector. Its true name is the association test, and its function is to find out, by means of your verbal associations and the way you express them, just what your reaction to a subject is. Thus, if they yell "Red!" at you and you immediately sing out, "White and blue!" you are a one-hundred-percent etcetera, while if you shrink, shudder, and after five minutes of hesitation sheepishly mutter, "Flannel underwear," you are one of those you-know-whats. Well, this reviewer saw two films the other day, and for twenty-four hours has been giving herself an association test to find out what she thinks about them. And the result is a blank; a blind, dreamless, happy blank.

After painful brain-searching, one impression does come to light; *Billy the Kid* has some beautiful desert photography. If you like travelogues and picture postcards of the Grand Canyon, this is the film for you. Its technicolor is perhaps the best handling of outdoor scenes we have seen yet, and is also kind to the horses and Mr. Robert Taylor. There are great towers of rock with blue mists swirling about their bases. There is also, somewhere, a story with a lot of shooting in it. This plot, while never quite standing still, progresses at such a leisurely pace that the villains seem to die in slow motion, and when Mr. Taylor stiffens in the last agony there is no very perceptible change in him. It would be unfair, however, to say that *Billy the Kid* is actively bad. It is not even that. It just isn't there.

Brian Donlevy and Ian Hunter perform capably, and Taylor, with his pretty face artistically dirtied up, is at least better than he has ever been before. Yet none of them manages to be more than a fairly pleasant person standing around in a doorway waiting to get shot. All the familiar devices of the Western are employed: the bold bad men, the stalwart cowpunchers, the cows of different colors, the posse galloping across the desert, the two-gun hero, the simpering heroine, the singing Mexican. It is perhaps the complete familiarity of these elements that makes them so curiously unexciting. Any three-year-old child who has seen one installment of *The Lone Ranger* could tell you exactly what is going to happen to Mr. Taylor.

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Billy the Kid, mind you, is never painful. It will probably not provoke anyone to get up and stride out of the theater, angrily demanding his money back. It may even provide a suitably tempered thrill for the kiddies. It has about thirty seconds of real power, provided by Olive Blakeney as the widow of a murdered cowpuncher. And there is always the desert.

"SHE KNEW ALL THE ANSWERS" is even more conspicuous by its absence. She may have known the answers, but the script writers didn't. And this reviewer is similarly at a loss. What is there to say about a film that will never quite put you to sleep and never quite wake you up? It is a shot of mild anaesthetic—but emphatically not laughing gas. The plot, of course, has nothing to do with human life, and neither have the characters; this unreality, however, is so much the rule in Hollywood comedies that it hardly needs mentioning. We have all heard before about the chorus girl who proves to the hard-boiled millionaire that you can be beautiful without being dumb; though after watching Joan Bennett's performance, I am inclined to doubt it.

Well, the chorus girl wins over the millionaire and throws over her previous lover, who is rather relieved—sensible man. Before this dubious reward of corresponding virtue, there are stock shots of night clubs, Coney Island, and legs. Franchot Tone makes heroic efforts to be funny, even to popping his eyes at you and writing with his nose. John Hubbard, the female impersonator of *Turnabout,* contributes a less successful male impersonation. What comedy the film does offer comes almost entirely from minor characters such as William Tracy's bumptious office boy, Eve Arden's "invalid sister," and an enchanting drunk who staggers across the scene for a brief ten seconds. At only one point is *She Knew All the Answers* downright offensive, however. This is in the presentation of an office spinster of the old school, who lifts eyebrows constantly, simpers over her imaginary beauty, and faints at the mention of passion. If this lady ever really existed, she has gone to an unwept grave long ago. Cannot Hollywood give us a rest from the comic old maid?

I haven't had a chance to talk about it, but I should like to mention an old film of a very different sort, *The Face Behind the Mask.* In its entirety it is an admirably written and brilliant melodrama, and its first half is very much more than that. In presenting the miseries of unemployment, the film attains an incisive grimness rarely equalled, and Peter Lorre's portrayal of an eager, friendly little immigrant is a heartbreakingly beautiful job. The waste of such actors as Lorre is one of Hollywood's greatest crimes; out on the West Coast, anyone who can act is automatically a villain. Even in this unusual film, Lorre is soon forced to hide behind a mask and turn into a menace. But what he does with the brief chance he gets makes *The Face Behind the Mask* worth catching up with at the little neighborhood theaters.

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